



# ***Daily Report***

---

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-224  
Tuesday  
23 November 1993

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-224

### CONTENTS

23 November 1993

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

#### CENTRAL AFRICA

##### Chad

Prime Minister Receives U.S., Canadian, Libyan Envoys *[Njamena Radio]* ..... 1

##### Congo

Lissouba Appoints Defense Minister To Mediate Crisis *[London International]* ..... 1

##### Equatorial Guinea

Malabo Radio Reports Large Voter Turnout ..... 1  
 OAU Says 50 Percent Boycott Polls *[Madrid Radio]* ..... 1

##### Gabon

Opposition Comments on 'Irregularities' *[Libreville Radio]* ..... 2  
 Minister Responds to Charges *[Libreville Radio]* ..... 2

##### Zaire

Head of State Greets Burundian Deputy Premier *[Kinshasa Radio]* ..... 2

#### EAST AFRICA

##### Djibouti

National Assembly Elects New Speaker *[AFP]* ..... 4

##### Kenya

Moi Urges Citizens To Eliminate Tribalism *[Nairobi TV]* ..... 4

##### Uganda

Dates Set for Nomination of Constituent Assembly Candidates *[Kampala Radio]* ..... 4  
 Former Head of State Returns From Exile *[Kampala Radio]* ..... 5

#### REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

De Klerk Addresses Special Parliament Session 22 Nov *[Johannesburg Radio]* ..... 6  
 Says Constitution Eliminates 'Albatross' *[SAPA]* ..... 6  
 Foresees Alliance's Inclusion *[Johannesburg Radio]* ..... 6  
 Meyer Contends Government Did Not Capitulate *[SAPA]* ..... 6  
 Meyer Notes Differences With Freedom Alliance *[SAPA]* ..... 7  
 Minister Asserts GATT Will Accept Revised Offer *[Johannesburg Radio]* ..... 7  
 Official Views GATT Negotiations *[BUSINESS DAY 19 Nov]* ..... 7  
 Minister Keys Urges Investor 'Friendly' Economy *[SAPA]* ..... 8  
 Azapo, Black Consciousness Reject April Election *[SAPA]* ..... 8  
 Groups To Join in Election Process *[SAPA]* ..... 9  
 ANC's Pongola Representative Shot Dead; Suspect Arrested *[Johannesburg Radio]* ..... 9

ANC Rejects IFP Charges of Traditional Leaders Intimidation [SAPA]	9
IFP Views MK Hit Squad 'Killing' of IFP, ANC Members [SAPA]	9
Mandela Attempts To Allay Fears in Indian Community [SAPA]	9
ANC Official Threatens To Use Tanks Against Homelands [SAPA]	10
CP Head Threatens Civil War Over Homeland Reincorporation [SAPA]	10
ANC Criticizes CP Threat [SAPA]	11
Freedom Alliance Devises Plans 'To Wreck' New Government [SUNDAY STAR 21 Nov]	11
Freedom Alliance Releases Document Containing Demands [SAPA]	12
Democratic Party Criticizes Deal on Local Government [SAPA]	12
DP Wants 'Most Democratic Constitution Possible' [Johannesburg Radio]	13
ANC, AVF Form Joint Working Group After Discussions [Johannesburg Radio]	13
AVF Responds to ANC, SACP Threats on Homelands, Right Wing [SAPA]	13
Labor Party To Compete on ANC Ticket in April Election [SAPA]	13
Buthelezi Addresses Durban Audience 22 Nov [SAPA]	13
Urges Referendum on Constitution [Johannesburg TV]	14
Newspaper Profiles Possible Leaders in New Government [BUSINESS DAY 22 Nov]	14
Daily Sees Civil War 'Just Months Away' [THE STAR 22 Nov]	15
Commonwealth, Dutch Officials End Visit [SAPA]	15
South African Press Review for 22 November [THE CITIZEN 22 Nov, etc]	16
Press Review for 23 Nov [THE STAR 23 Nov, etc]	16
*CSIR: State Support, Mission Examined [LEADERSHIP SA 93]	17

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Angola

Dos Santos Reiterates Demand for UNITA's Demilitarization [Luanda TV]	20
Government, UNITA Discuss Cease-Fire Issues [Luanda TV]	20
UNITA Official Views U.S. Relations as 'Positive' [Voz do Galo Negro]	20
President Dos Santos Leaves for Namibia 19 Nov [Luanda TV]	20
Dos Santos Returns [Luanda TV]	20
UNITA Seizes Cuvango, Sends Forces to Southern Region [Luanda TV]	21
Opposition Party Official Commits Suicide [Luanda Radio]	21

### Mozambique

Dhlakama Postpones Meeting With Chissano Indefinitely [Maputo Radio]	21
Dhlakama Says Lack of International Aid 'May Threaten Peace' [Maputo Radio]	21
Renamo Needs Promised Funds [Lisbon International]	22
Ajello: Aid Concerns 'Justifiable' [MEDIAFAX 23 Nov]	22
Renamo Leader Wants More Police During Election Process [Lisbon International]	22
Government Reportedly Trying To Delay Troop Confinement [Maputo Radio]	23

## WEST AFRICA

### Ghana

Opposition Party Denounces New Nigerian Leadership [AFP]	24
--	----

### Liberia

Liberian People's Party, UPP Declare Electoral Alliance [Monrovia Radio]	24
--	----

### Mali

Parliament Waives Member's Immunity [Bamako Radio]	24
--	----

### Niger

Assembly Speaker Calls For National Consensus [Niamey Radio]	24
--	----

**Nigeria**

'No Warnings' Issued in Abacha-Abiola Discussion [London International]	25
General Clarifies Decree, Status of ING Appointments [Lagos TV]	26
Military Spokesman Announces Plans for Provisional Council [AFP]	26
Traditional Rulers Pledge Support to New Administration [Lagos Radio]	27
Commentary Stresses Need for Nigerians To Be Hopeful [Lagos Radio]	27
Correction to Shonekan Address to State Governors on Budget	27

**Sierra Leone**

Government Troops Recapture Six 'Strategic' Towns [Freetown Radio]	28
--	----



## Chad

### Prime Minister Receives U.S., Canadian, Libyan Envoys

AB2211112393 Ndjamena Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Excerpts] On 20 November, Prime Minister Kassire Koumakoye received His Excellency Laurence Pope, the U.S. ambassador to Ndjamena; Canadian Ambassador Arsene Despres resident in Yaounde; Libyan Ambassador (Yusef al-Mansur); and Ibrahim Djigo, official in charge of Chadian dossiers at the UNDP, who went to congratulate the prime minister and to discuss cooperation. [passage omitted]

The Canadian ambassador was bearer of a message of goodwill from his government to Dr. Kassire Koumakoye for his election to the post of prime minister. Let us listen to Ambassador Despres commenting on bilateral relations:

[Begin recording] We reviewed Canadian cooperation with Chad since the sixties, especially in the education sector where Canada has always been and will continue to be present. Many Canadian nongovernmental organizations are also implementing development projects with Chadian moral and financial support at the level of local communities. [passage omitted] [end recording]

The third diplomat who was received by the prime minister was (Yusef al-Mansur) who told newsmen in Arabic that he went to congratulate the new transition prime minister and to wish him success upon his assignment. [passage omitted on UNDP official]

## Congo

### Lissouba Appoints Defense Minister To Mediate Crisis

AB2211112893 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 21 Nov 93

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] President Pascal Lissouba of Congo has appointed the defense minister, Raymond Damase Ngollo, as a mediator to try to end weeks of clashes between the security forces and opposition militiamen. General Damase Ngollo, who mediated in talks between the Congolese Presidency and opposition groups last July, was asked to negotiate directly with all sides. More than 40 people are reported to have died in the capital, Brazzaville, since fighting broke out at the beginning of the month.

## Equatorial Guinea

### Malabo Radio Reports Large Voter Turnout

AB2311094893 Malabo Radio Nacional de Guinea Ecuatorial Network in Spanish 0600 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] The Equatorial Guinean people yesterday spent a historic day with the first legislative elections held in the country after the introduction of multiparty system. Indeed, this is the first time since the country's independence 25 years ago that Equatorial Guineans had the opportunity to freely elect their deputies in elections contested by eight parties. The parties include the ruling Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE), Democratic Liberal Convention, Liberal Party, Social Democratic Union, National Democratic Union, Social Democratic Party, Social Democratic and Popular Convergence, and Socialist Party of Equatorial Guinea.

At 8:00 am on the dot, the polling stations established in all the constituencies opened their doors to the people so that they could freely and democratically elect the candidates of their choice. Voters, including men, women, and youngsters of voting age, began lining up in large numbers outside the polling stations to cast their votes.

Yesterday morning, Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, head of state, PDGE founding chairman, and mediator in this democratic process, and his wife, Constancia Mangue de Obiang, went to the polling station inside the Ministry of Culture in Malabo, where they cast their votes in these historic elections. [passage indistinct]

[Later in the same broadcast, the "Radio Bata News" program adds the following: "The event in the news today is yesterday's legislative elections which took place normally in the country's mainland. At 8:00 am the people started heading for polling stations to vote for their respective contesting parties. In Bata no incidents were reported. Instead the voting took place in an atmosphere of tranquility, harmony, and understanding among polling stations' officers."]

### OAU Says 50 Percent Boycott Polls

LD2211220893 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 2100 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] In Equatorial Guinea the three observers sent by the OAU have estimated that the abstention rate in yesterday's legislative election was 50 percent. Opposition sources put abstention at up to 80 percent, while the Electoral Board just says that it was very high. In a note issued by the Office of Diplomatic Information, the Spanish Government regrets that the elections were neither pluralist nor fully democratic.

**Gabon****Opposition Comments on 'Irregularities'**

AB191115993 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230  
GMT 18 Nov 93

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Excerpts] We move to Gabon, where the first round of the presidential poll takes place on 5 December. At a news conference this morning, Territorial Administration Minister Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou commented on the recent concerns expressed by the opposition, which contends it has detected some irregularities in the compilation and exhibition of the voter's register. Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou has been speaking to our reporter Zene Lamble and this is his reaction:

[Mboumbou-Miyakou] "Some lapses were detected in Libreville, repeat Libreville. Is is true, because we directed that receipts be issued to people who put their names in the old voter's register so as to facilitate the distribution of voter's cards but a receipt is not a voter's card. It is a receipt which has certainly been signed by the election registration agent. The key document of the voter is his voter's card."

Following these errors in Libreville, the Gabonese territorial administration minister, who sounded reassuring, said that every anomaly would be corrected.

[Mboumbou-Miyakou] "We first tried to increase the number of employees handling the registration exercise, to review all the registers, and to put sanity into the numbering system, which was problematic. As I talk to you, if you go around the offices of the various governors, you will find that there are teams working which have rectified all anomalies."

Right. Meanwhile, the candidates in next month's presidential election in Gabon continue to comb the length and breadth of the country. This morning, incumbent President Omar Bongo reached Mouila, chief town of Ngounie Province, after a long trip to Ogooue-Ivindo, the Woleu-Ntem, and Moyenne-Ogooue Provinces. [passage omitted]

Jean-Pierre Lemboumba-Lepandou, another presidential candidate and former finance minister, was at the national radio this morning to spell out the main thrusts of his program.

[Lemboumba-Lepandou] "We will devote ourselves to strengthening the democratic process ushered in by the national conference. We pledge to revitalize the republican institutions that buttress the rule of law, bedrock of freedoms, and the security of men and their property. Our ambition is to offer Gabonese peaceful living conditions. Democracy will materialize in an atmosphere of peace only if Gabonese can trust political leaders to find concerted solutions to their everyday problems.

"In the economic and financial sphere, in order to get Gabon out of the economic gloom in which it is, we must—without delay—put in place a structural adjustment program spread over a minimum two-year period."

**Minister Responds to Charges**

AB1911180693 Libreville RTG Chaine Nationale Radio  
Network in French 0800 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Territorial Administration Minister Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou has reacted to the climate of political agitation. On 18 November he delivered an important statement at the Okoume Palace Hotel to representatives of diplomatic missions and international organizations in Libreville. This was immediately followed by a news conference.

[Begin Mboumbou-Mikayou recording] If people find any irregularities in the organization of the elections, they should write about them, just like they did when they submitted their candidacies. To be quite frank, as I speak to you now, none of these candidates involved in the dispute has lodged any complaint whatsoever. How can you, who are spokespersons of your countries and representatives of international organizations, accept that while some people are in the interior canvassing for votes, others have decided to remain in Libreville simply because it is the capital, with nothing to do, just killing time, recruiting people to go around the streets? Of course there is nothing wrong with that. That is democracy at work. It is only logical, but I disagree with them when they claim to be speaking on behalf of the candidates. Leave the candidates alone.

Let me cite an example. I followed Father Mba Abesolo, who I believe is today heading quite an important party. You may remember what he said. He thinks that some people are trying out these maneuvers in order to call on the government to postpone the election date. This is why they are talking about a poorly compiled voters' register. Some names are missing here and there on this register, but this happens everywhere in the world. This is why I called the ambassadors to explain this situation to them. There were some mistakes in Libreville, that is true. The governor of Estuaire Province has even admitted that. [end recording]

**Zaire****Head of State Greets Burundian Deputy Premier**

LD2111214693 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network  
in French 1900 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] The head of state has granted an audience to the Burundian deputy prime minister for development and institutional reforms. Melchior Ntahorwama described to Head of State Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko the situation being experienced by Burundi after the events in this neighboring country. [Name indistinct] put a few questions to him after the audience:

[Begin recording] [Ntahorwama] [Words indistinct] a written message from the Burundi Government for the head of the Zairean state.

[Correspondent] One can assume that this message is in connection with what has just happened; an unfortunate situation. My question is: How is Burundi today, Burundi which is experiencing the aftermath of all we saw, all we witnessed?

[Ntahorwama] One month ago, Burundi was a model for countries which have gone through an honorable democratic transition. It is now devastated because, after the assassination of the president, there was an inter-ethnic conflict which devastated the country. We now find ourselves with houses in ruins in nine provinces. Lives have been lost. Burundi is in a pitiful state.

[Correspondent] Is it now possible to estimate the number of casualties?

[Ntahorwama] For the time being, we are not yet in a position to count the casualties. We are trying to pacify and to have two communities meet, because in the country towns, there is a community in the provinces and in villages, and another community which is in valleys, in the mountains. We are now trying to draw the two communities closer so that they understand that the problem [word indistinct] is that we must live on the same territory. This is what we are trying to do now. We have not yet initiated inquiries in order to determine the number of casualties.

[Correspondent] Are you under the impression that democracy has been assassinated for a long time?

[Ntahorwama] Democracy has not been assassinated. As His Excellency President Melchior Ndadaye used to say, I quote, it is possible to kill Ndadaye but one will never be able to kill Ndadaye [as heard]: democracy will go forward.

[Correspondent] When do you think things will return to normal?

[Ntahorwama] It is difficult to say. It is difficult to say because it was a serious wound.

[Correspondent] You called for a foreign force. What is the situation on that?

[Ntahorwama] As far as the OAU is concerned, we were promised 180 soldiers and 20 civilian observers. It is not

enough. Besides, our minister of communication said in a conference yesterday that the government would ask for a bit more, but I think that...[changes thought] I do not know whether this request will be answered favorably. If it were the case, we would be very happy. One hundred and eighty people—it is not a lot given the difficulties we have with regard to guarding and protecting the institutions.

[Correspondent] And yourself, deputy prime minister, do you feel safe in your role as a pacifier?

[Ntahorwama] Absolutely not, because, as you know, according to the first statements made by the putschists, all army units had risen up against the democratic authorities. So now for us, the members of the government, it is difficult for us to say who is a loyalist and who is not. Therefore, we are still living in a situation of insecurity.

[Correspondent] What work needs doing in the near future? Indeed, everyone is a suspect in the army. So what is the priority in order to appease everybody, minister?

[Ntahorwama] There have been attempts at rapprochement between the high command and the commander of army units, together with the chairman of the party [words indistinct] elections. At this very moment—I do not have the report yet—but it seems that everything went well, that the army would like to express some form of loyalism, but we tell them that loyalism should find a specific expression on the ground, in particular by carrying out the tasks [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] What about the fate of those responsible for that putsch? What is it, or what will it be?

[Ntahorwama] First of all, you know that the government does not have the means, the strength, to arrest the putschists. Some of them are still free, but when the government has the means, the necessary strength to arrest them, they will be sentenced according to our penal code.

[Correspondent] What can Zaire do?

[Ntahorwama] We have asked Zaire to give us material and moral support. You know that we have a devastated country. Within the next two months we will probably face famine, because there are a thousand people who are already outside of the country as refugees [passage indistinct]. [end recording]

## Djibouti

### National Assembly Elects New Speaker

AB2311102093 Paris AFP in French 1809 GMT  
22 Nov 93

[Text] Djibouti, 22 Nov (AFP)—Mr. Ibrahim Badoul Said was elected speaker of the Djibouti National Assembly on 22 November following an internal battle within the ruling party, the only party represented at the assembly. Five members of the Popular Rally for Progress [RPP], the former single ruling party, initially wanted to run for the same post. Three of them withdrew their candidacy at the last minute, and Mr. Badoul, member of parliament from the Afars ethnic group who was hitherto National Assembly deputy speaker, won by 37 votes. Mr. Bahdon Farah Moumin, RPP secretary general, current justice minister and former foreign minister from 1978-1992, obtained 27 votes.

The post had been vacant since the death on 10 February of former National Assembly Speaker Waberi Askar Abdelkader which occurred less than two months after the first multiparty parliamentary elections in Djibouti, in which the RPP won a sweeping victory on 18 December.

The vote came after Prime Minister Gourad Hamadou Barkat had officially opened the second parliamentary session devoted to the examination of the 1994 budget. The prime minister stated that his draft budget contained "serious restrictions" and an increase in public revenue to solve the financial problems facing the country due to the efforts being made to fight against the armed rebellion of the Afars of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy.

## Kenya

### Moi Urges Citizens To Eliminate Tribalism

EA2111173693 Nairobi KBC Television Network in  
English 1830 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Excerpts] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi, today called on the people of the Rift Valley province to live together harmoniously. The president was speaking at his Kabarak home when he received a goodwill delegation from Laikipia district. [passage omitted]

[Begin Moi recording, in Swahili] I want to say this: There are different kinds of unity. I want to say this because I love Kenya. It would be extremely stupid for this Kones [Kipkalia Kones, Kenya African National Union MP for Bomet, minister of state in the office of the president] to tell the Kalenjins in Narok: Follow our words, we Kalenjins—get on this side. He would be stupid. What he should say is: Live the way the Maasais

live. Cooperate with them and cultivate your farms in the manner they do. He would then render the life of the Kalenjins who are in the Maasai land normal.

As for the Kikuyus who are in the Pokot land—there are about 4000 to 5000 of them—they come from this one. They have businesses and other things. There should be a Kikuyu from the Central province to tell them: Stay there, we do not have any (?other) area. Stay as the people stay. Conduct your trade and any other things. But telling them join us, only we should stay together, even to take oaths and so on—this is a union to fight whom?

As I lead you, I have been forbearing because I love the unity of all the peoples of Kenya and I want the Kikuyus to stay wherever they are in peace with the people with whom they are staying. I mean, if I tell you do this when hardships arise, he cannot help you in any way. So it is up to me to ask the Kenyan people to live in peace if they want the country of Kenya to benefit our young people, the children of today and of the future.

Tribalism, as the children have said, we should fight it—we should eliminate it altogether—this matter of tribalism, only then can we say that we are the people of the Kenyan nation.

All the things—people they say this and that. Some say there are too many Kikuyus in Narok. They cultivate their farms there everywhere. This, Ntimama [William Ole Ntimama, minister for local government], this. (?tell him) do not [word indistinct], let them live in peace. Even what he said—this paper called the DAILY NATION is about tribalism—it is the mother and father of all tribalism. The main thing is we should uphold justice. Sinning is not a simple thing, sinning is a bad thing [end recording]

## Uganda

### Dates Set for Nomination of Constituent Assembly Candidates

EA2011211593 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in  
English 1300 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Nomination of candidates for the election of delegates to the Constituent Assembly will take place on 3 and 4 January next year. According to a declaration published in the UGANDA GAZETTE yesterday by the commissioner of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Steven Besweri Akabwai, nomination will take place at district headquarters in the offices of the district executive secretaries, who are district returning officers in their respective areas of jurisdiction. The exercise will start at 1000 and end at 1600 on each of the two days. Two hundred and (?forty) seats in the assembly will be directly contested.



**Former Head of State Returns From Exile**

*EA2111200093 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in  
English 1700 GMT 21 Nov 93*

[Text] Former President Tito Okello Lutwa is back home after nearly eight years in exile in the neighboring states of Sudan, Tanzania and Kenya. General Tito Okello Lutwa, who flew in from Nairobi, arrived at Entebbe International Airport at midday prompt in President Yoweri Museveni's presidential jet. The beaming general was smartly dressed in a gray suit, striped blue shirt and a red tie, and held a black stick which he frantically waved to the cheering crowds that turned up to receive him. Among those who received the former head of state were the minister of state in the prime minister's office in charge of the pacification of the north, Mrs. Betty Bigombe; the director of the Internal Security Organization, Mr. Jim Muhwezi; all National Resistance Council [NRC] members from Kitgum district, elders and other

members of the Acholi community, who treated him to traditional dances and jubilations of joy.

Gen. Lutwa was accompanied by Uganda's high commissioner to Kenya, Mr. Joseph Tomusange; his son, Mr. Charles Okello; his daughter, Miss Maale Okello, and several friends.

In a brief statement at the airport, the general thanked the people who turned up to welcome him warmly and said he was doubtlessly happy to be back in Uganda at last. He promised to address a press conference later.

Lutwa was later driven in a long motorcade from Entebbe to his new residence in Bugolobi in Kampala.

Gen. Tito Okello left Uganda on 24 January 1986 shortly before the National Resistance Army captured the capital city [on 27 January]. In 1991 the NRC passed a bill permitting Tito Okello to come back and to be given all benefits of a former head of state.

**De Klerk Addresses Special Parliament Session  
22 Nov***MB2211143293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1400 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] State President F. W. de Klerk says the transitional constitution will not satisfy people who are demanding a disguised confederation in the name of federalism. Addressing Parliament, he said the new constitution was a package that provided adequate security for all people concerned about strong regional government on a federal basis. The Parliament has begun a 3-week special session in which legislation drawn up at Kempton Park will be tabled.

**Says Constitution Eliminates 'Albatross'***MB2211143493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1357  
GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] Parliament November 22 SAPA—The new constitution would rid South Africa of an albatross that had hung round the country's neck for 300 years, the state president, Mr. F W de Klerk, said on Monday. Addressing a joint sitting [of Parliament], he said the albatross was the fact that there had not been a fair and just system that was inclusive of all the people of the country.

He thanked the leaders and members of all parties in Parliament who had worked hard and given "everything they had" to bring about the historic moment where it could be said that there was an agreement which had the overwhelming support of the majority of South Africans. "This will prove to be yet another historic session of Parliament," he said. It was historic not only because of the matters it would be dealing with, but also because this day rang in what would probably be the last session of Parliament in its present form.

**Foresees Alliance's Inclusion***MB2211152293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1500 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] State President F. W. de Klerk says it should be possible to reach agreements with the Freedom Alliance in time for them to be included in the present sitting of Parliament. In his opening address to Parliament, he said federalism had been accepted as a point of departure in talks with the alliance, and that he regarded it as progress that the Conservative Party [CP] and the alliance had agreed to continue negotiations.

He said he would also regard it as progress if the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] agreed to grant voting rights to black people in a federal state. The Parliament has begun a 3-week special session in which legislation drawn up at Kempton Park will be tabled.

**Meyer Contends Government Did Not Capitulate***MB1911171093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1402  
GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 19 SAPA—Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on Friday rejected suggestions that the interim constitution reflected a capitulation by the government or a take-over of power by any party. Mr Meyer told a media briefing in Pretoria there were many checks and balances in the draft constitution to prevent any party from "running away with power".

Senior African National Congress [ANC] officials reportedly said the government's last-minute concessions on the constitution amounted to a "complete collapse", and that they had been stunned with the ease with which they had been won. The two major criticisms against the government concern decision-making by the cabinet in a government of national unity and the abolition of two votes in favour of one in next year's election.

Mr Meyer said defining percentages on which cabinet decisions would have to be taken would have been anomalous to consensus-seeking, which was the underlying spirit of such a government. Consensus-seeking in the cabinet would lead to better power-sharing at executive level, he said, adding that on most policy decisions a future president would be obliged to consult his vice-presidents.

The abolition of two votes for a provincial and central government in favour of one was a temporary measure, he said. The April 27 election would be the only election where votes for the two tiers of government would be cast at the same time. Holding provincial elections at a different time in future was being investigated.

Mr Meyer denied the last minute "package-deal", including the deadlock-breaking mechanism and the role of the Senate, amounted to a "trade-off". On the safeguarding of the powers and functions of regions, Mr Meyer said the government had managed to place specific restrictions on the constitutional assembly when writing the final constitution. It had also convinced the ANC that the Senate, which would consist of representatives appointed by regional legislatures, would play a special role in determining the powers, functions and boundaries of provinces (regions). Also, regional or provincial legislatures would be able to adopt their own constitutions as long as these did not contradict the central constitution.

He added that these measures would be presented to the Freedom Alliance, with which the government was holding talks on Friday. The door was still open to the Alliance and if it made acceptable proposals, "we will try and urge the other parties to agree and even adjust the constitution", said Mr Meyer. The constitution would be submitted to parliament not later than November 30, he added.

It was a wrong perception, the minister continued, that the elected parliament would be replaced or "overthrown" in two years' time. "There will be no elections under a new constitution before 1999. I want to remove the perception that this is only a temporary constitution or parliament. There is a five-year permanency," he said.

#### **Meyer Notes Differences With Freedom Alliance**

*MB2011053993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1913 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 19 SAPA—There is such a fundamental difference of opinion between the government and the Freedom Alliance on the issue of regional government that a real agreement on the subject appeared difficult, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer conceded on Friday night. Nevertheless, the government would keep open the door for the Alliance as long as possible, he said.

Mr Meyer was speaking in Pretoria after a top-level meeting between the Alliance leaders and a government delegation led by President F W de Klerk.

The Alliance, according to one poll the second-largest political grouping in South Africa, was not included in the Kempton Park agreements reached this week, which threatens the prospects of a peaceful and non-violent political solution.

Alliance co-leader Ferdi Hartzenberg on Friday threatened that the Afrikaner Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front—AVF], an Alliance partner, would institute an alternative "executive council" to the Transitional Executive Council because conservative whites insisted on self-determination.

Alliance co-leader General Constand Viljoen said after the meeting with Mr De Klerk that despite the disagreements, the Alliance had not given up hope for a solution. Gen Viljoen stressed that the Alliance did not view the expected parliamentary ratification of the Kempton Park deals for an April 27 election and interim constitution as a cut-off date for talks. "We must stop thinking that there can be cut-off dates which can simply cut off a big organisation like the Alliance," he said on the steps of the Union Buildings, flanked by Alliance co-leaders such as Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana minister of state and alliance chairman Rowan Cronje, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Conservative Party leader Dr Hartzenberg.

Mr Meyer said while progress had been made with the Alliance on some points, there were fundamental differences, especially with regard to the concept of regionalism, and less so, on fiscal powers for such regions, their borders, and constitutions. On regionalism, there were such differences on points of departure that it would appear difficult to really come to an agreement with the Alliance. The Alliance wanted a long list of powers for regional government with no say by central government.

Practically, this would create an insufferable situation, Mr Meyer said. One had to depart from existing realities, and the fact that South Africa was currently a unitary state from which a federal state should be developed.

Gen Viljoen said the Alliance was very disappointed by government's reaction to its proposals, released in documentary form to the media on Friday night. The government would supply additional answers to the Alliance's proposals on Monday before another meeting involving the two parties in Cape Town next Tuesday. "We regret to say we had to tell the president that we feel very serious about what we request and what stand for as an alliance," said Gen Viljoen. "Unless we can be accommodated in the way we would like to see the negotiations go, we see no way how the Alliance can take (part) in the transitional process for the election next year, and that would be a great pity for this country."

#### **Minister Asserts GATT Will Accept Revised Offer**

*MB1911171993 Johannesburg Afrikaans Stereo Radio Network in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] Finance Minister Derek Keys says South Africa's revised offer to GATT will, in his opinion, be accepted. Mr. Keys said South Africa had offered to lower tariffs over a period of eight years and to suspend export subsidies. Although the offer does not comply with the demand of some of South Africa's partners, Mr. Keys is confident that the business world will accept an economic reform program largely based on the offer.

ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela also referred to a market economy when he told businessmen in the informal sector in Durban that current economic problems, and especially those of blacks, can only be solved in a market economy. He insisted that informal traders should consolidate their organization and not only rely on COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] or the ANC to accommodate their interests.

#### **Official Views GATT Negotiations**

*MB1911130493 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 19 Nov 93 p 5*

[Article by Linda Ensor]

[Text] Cape Town—It would be difficult for SA [South Africa] to renegotiate domestically a revised GATT offer, SA financial ambassador in Europe Gerhard Croeser said at the CEO Institutes conference yesterday.

The SA offer had taken a long time to finalise as the support of all the main players was sought first. Croeser expected that the greatest obstacle to revising the offer would probably come from COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], which was concerned about the effects of a revision on unemployment.

He said government hoped to have a revised offer finalised by the end of the year. He hoped the Uruguay



Round would be successfully concluded as SA would need to have access to the NAFTA and EC trade blocs.

Croeser noted that there was resistance to SA being categorised as a developing nation because of fears that it would then be a significant and dangerous player in the world arena of international competition. The US and Europe wanted SA to be defined as a developed country.

Croeser felt that the breakdown of protective barriers would have to be phased in slowly because of SA's large unemployment problem. The country was therefore pleading for more time from the international community.

However, US Ambassador to SA Princeton Lyman insisted that more work would have to be done on SA's offer to GATT. A lot of industries SA wished to protect were sensitive internationally, he said.

Lyman stressed the importance of SA being included in GATT as its ability to trade with trade blocs would depend on the openness of its system. The US strongly believed that markets should be equally open. He noted that US industry had already complained about the overprotection of some SA industries.

He said also the US government had submitted a draft agreement between SA and the US-based Overseas Private Investment Corporation (Opic) to the main political players for consideration.

Lyman said that signature of the agreement would give US business greater confidence about investing in SA.

Opic provided political and other risk insurance to American investors and was popular with them. The draft agreement had been given to parties who took part in formulating the GATT offer.

The agreement included clauses such as an undertaking by the government not to expropriate assets without compensation or take political action against corporations. This would give Opic a reasonable degree of assurance, when it provided insurance, that the government would adopt policies conducive to foreign investment.

Lyman believed there were good opportunities for foreign investors in the field of high tech.

#### **Minister Keys Urges Investor 'Friendly' Economy**

*MB221115 1993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1336 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[By Jono Waters]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 22 SAPA—The International Monetary Fund believed South Africa should keep the financial rand until such time as the country was experiencing net capital inflows, Finance Minister Derek Keys said on Monday. To do this, South Africa would have to create an "investor/entrepreneur friendly economy" and it was his perception that African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela supported

this. "Bring this off, (investor friendly environment) and South Africa will experience a sustainable long-term growth pattern of four per cent or better."

Mr. Keys told the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries annual lunch that he had not found one weak link in the investor/entrepreneur friendly chain. South Africa was about to re-enter international capital markets and would be able to negotiate more favourable interest rates if it succeeded in creating a stable, friendly environment.

He reiterated his belief in government's normative economic model which he said would create jobs and provide sustainable growth through investment in human capital, the building of a socio-economic infrastructure and export-orientated industrialisation. "I believe we are on the launching pad and if we work together and find the optimum prices ... I think we have excellent future."

Mr. Keys said the optimum prices included finding the rand's real exchange rate, the right input prices as they were distorted due to import tariffs and the right price for labour. While labour's demand for a living wage was fair, those countries that had experienced the best growth rates had done it through low wages.

#### **Azapo, Black Consciousness Reject April Election**

*MB2111145593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1321 GMT 21 Nov 93*

[Text] Harare Nov 21 SAPA—The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will not to take part in South Africa's first non-racial election in April next year, reports ZIANA [Zimbabwe Inter-African News Agency] news agency. The parties are holding two-day consultative talks in Harare.

Azapo Deputy Secretary General Lybon Mabasa on Sunday labelled as a "sell-out settlement" the adoption of an interim constitution by multi-party negotiators last week. He said Azapo and the BCMA would launch a campaign to persuade South Africans not to vote in the election. "We hold the opinion that a sell-out settlement is in place in South Africa at the moment and that sham elections are going to be held to legitimise the continuation of white rule.

"We will participate in the process leading to the elections by educating and trying to convince our people not to sell their birth right and freedom by casting votes that will put them in perpetual slavery," he said. Illiterate blacks in South Africa were ill-informed about the implications of the choices they would make in April, he added. "Azapo will be explaining to the people why the present elections cannot be supported and why the Kempton Park package cannot satisfy the interests of blacks in the country."



Azapo and BCMA demanded "total freedom" that enhanced the status of the oppressed, he said. Mr Mabasa also predicted that violence would escalate in the wake of the election.

#### **Groups To Join in Election Process**

*MB2211083993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0813  
GMT 22 Nov 93*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the Azanian People's Organization AZAPO, Azanian People's Organization, and the BCM, Black Consciousness Movement Consultation]

[Text] The central committees [CCs] of Azapo and the BCM(A) [Black Consciousness Movement of Azania] have agreed in Harare to participate in the process leading to the April 1994 elections, on their own terms. The two CCs hold the view that true democracy involves the right of the people to make informed decisions and choices on their lives.

We believe the present Kempton Park package is fundamentally flawed, in that it protects white rule and privilege. However, the two organs of the BCM have decided to get involved in the process to accord our people their right to views contrary to those expressed at Kempton Park thus far, and to widen their choices of which parties to support, and whether to exercise their votes or not.

Specific tactics of how to participate are being worked out by the CCS and are to be released with the final communique on Monday Nov 22. Vuyisa Quanta Publicity & Information Secretary

#### **ANC's Pongola Representative Shot Dead; Suspect Arrested**

*MB2211154893 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1500 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] The chairman of the ANC [African National Congress] branch at Pongola in the southeastern Transvaal, Mr. (Xolani Ntentiwa), has been shot dead. The police said an attacker had fired four shots at Mr. (Ntentiwa) in a furniture shop in the town. A woman in the shop was wounded. The police have arrested a suspect.

#### **ANC Rejects IFP Charges of Traditional Leaders Intimidation**

*MB2211122893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1155  
GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] Durban Nov 22 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] has rejected as propaganda last week's allegation by kwaZulu Deputy Minister Velaphi Ndlovu concerning ANC intimidation of traditional leaders.

ANC southern Natal Media Officer Dumisani Makhaye said on Monday it was the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] who was guilty of harassing traditional leaders who were

fighting for peace and unity. "The ANC views the statement by... Mr Ndlovu, that the ANC has a policy to kill and undermine chiefs and other traditional leaders, as cheap IFP propaganda," said Mr Makhaye.

#### **IFP Views MK Hit Squad 'Killing' of IFP, ANC Members**

*MB2311070193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0555  
GMT 23 Nov 93*

["Press statement" issued by the Office of the Chief Minister of kwaZulu by Dr. Zibajiyane on the SAPA PR wire service: "IFP Condemns ANC Hit Squads"]

[Text] The IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] strongly condemns Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing—MK] for the many brutal killings of IFP members as well as ANC [African National Congress] members. We pledge solidarity with members of the ANC southern Natal region who demonstrated in front of Durban ANC offices on Friday, 19 November 1993, protesting against ongoing harassment and killing of ANC members by Umkhonto we Sizwe. Most ANC members killed by MK lived in an area called Briden.

The IFP has repeatedly protested the use of MK by ANC to kill more than 350 IFP leaders and thousands of IFP members. We have condemned the cruelty of MK which massacres defenceless black people, including 3 months old babies.

We feel vindicated when ANC members in a large demonstration carry placards reading "we want a humane ANC office". ANC demonstrators also said they were not even prepared to negotiate with Mr Sphiwe Nyanda, an MK leader, about MK attacks on ANC comrades. They demanded that MK soldiers responsible for such killings should be arrested.

We agree!

ANC demonstrators explained that they had lost patience with ANC authorities who have failed to address their plight.

The IFP too has lost patience with the ANC leadership which has deployed thousands of MK in what is called "Operation Sunrise" to serve as ANC death squads specialising in killing IFP leaders and members. These hit squads are assisted by the collusion of many individuals in the SAP [South African Police] and Internal Stability Units.

#### **Mandela Attempts To Allay Fears in Indian Community**

*MB2011053393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2018  
GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] Durban Nov 19 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela on Friday attempted to allay fears within the Indian community, saying a future government would not use the policy of affirmative action

to favour one section of the population. Speaking to several thousand people at a "people's forum" at Chatsworth Stadium south west of Durban, Mr Mandela also tried to dissuade people from voting for the National Party [NP], even if they didn't vote ANC. "I'm not asking the Indian community to vote ANC—you are here, I'm sure of your vote. Those of you who are undecided can vote for other parties...but don't vote NP". The ANC president said NP rule had led Indians and others to much suffering.

Referring to the recent squatter occupation of houses in Cato Manor earmarked for Indians, Mr Mandela cautioned people to "be calm about it", saying a separate solution had to be found for those squatters. "Now we have to be very careful," he said, adding that the occupation could lead to the wrong impression that an ANC government would favour blacks over so-called coloureds and Indians.

He said it was "perfectly understandable" that homeless people moved into empty houses as the government had addressed the housing needs of other groups but not blacks. He however reiterated the occupation was "wrong" and a solution had to be found to address the issue. This was something he would raise with State President F W de Klerk too. [passage omitted]

#### **ANC Official Threatens To Use Tanks Against Homelands**

*MB1911194993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1915 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 19 SAPA—If any of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states or self-governing territories failed to co-operate in their own dissolution the "tanks will roll in", senior African National Congress [ANC] official Mathew Phosa warned in Johannesburg on Friday.

The right-wing Freedom Alliance was also warned by South African Communist Party [SACP] Chairman Joe Slovo that if its actions led to the spilling of blood, the government would have a duty to meet such actions "with resolve". Speaking at a news conference by ANC/SACP negotiators, Mr Slovo said the right wing had a right to mobilise in the political sphere against the agreements reached at multiparty negotiations. "What we object to is the underlying threat from the leaders of the alliance that if they don't get their way, they will use force. If it comes to that and they continue to threaten to spill blood, it is the duty of the government to meet that threat with resolve."

ANC constitutional head Mac Maharaj rejected Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's call for a white election. "He is losing contact with reality. A white election will never take place in South Africa again and it is impossible for their demand to be realised."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa told the conference that if the TBVC states and self-governing territories failed to co-operate by participating in the April 27 elections, certain clauses in the interim constitution would have to be invoked and the "law would have to take its course". The independent electoral commission had wide-ranging powers to ensure everyone had the right to campaign and to vote.

The constitution made provision for the scrapping of the status of self-governing territories act and the acts governing the independent status of the TBVC states. This would be put into effect during the November sitting of parliament.

Mr Phosa said the activities of the Transitional Executive Council and other structures would include levelling the playing fields throughout the country, including the TBVC states. "If the process is undermined, the relevant authorities must be empowered to expedite (the implementation of) the relevant provisions of the (interim) constitution. We are not in a helpless situation. If the only option left to us is to roll in the tanks, then that is what we will do."

Mr Valli Moosa said the Transitional Executive Council would probably hold its first meeting within two weeks and preparations for its work had already begun. They hoped to establish the Independent Electoral Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority before the Christmas break so they could be "up and running" by the new year.

#### **CP Head Threatens Civil War Over Homeland Reincorporation**

*MB2211151693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1437 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] Parliament Nov 22 SAPA—The negotiating council's decision to reincorporate Bophuthatswana into South Africa without consulting the homeland's leaders or its people was a declaration of civil war, Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg said on Monday.

Speaking during debate on the state president's opening address, he said Afrikaners in the Freedom Alliance would protect their freedom with everything at their disposal and would not let their allies down. "If you touch Bophuthatswana, you are touching us."

Dr. Hartzenberg said the Freedom Alliance remained outside the negotiating process and was determined not to subject itself to the South African Communist Party [SACP] and its allies.

He said President F W de Klerk had become isolated and estranged from his party and its followers. The National Party now represented only a small minority of whites who had voted "yes" in last year's referendum.

The SACP had gained even more than it had set out to in constitutional negotiations and in the interim constitution. "Only the SACP and their allies have been accommodated at the expense of other groups, nations and individuals in South Africa." The tri-partite alliance would be in a position to write a final constitution for South Africa without any impediment.

Dr. Hartzenberg said the government had failed to secure permanent power-sharing in either the interim or in a final constitution and within the cabinet. Negotiations had produced a unitary state, not a federation, and regions were left without any significant powers. Nothing had come of the checks and balances which were to be incorporated into a new constitution.

#### ANC Criticizes CP Threat

MB2311094193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0919  
GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] Klerksdorp Nov 23 SAPA—The African National Congress' [ANC] western Transvaal region criticised Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg on Tuesday for speaking against Bophuthatswana's re-incorporation into South Africa.

Dr Hartzenberg did not have a mandate to speak on behalf of the people of Bophuthatswana, 99 per cent of whom favoured re-incorporation, the ANC's Klerksdorp regional spokesman Rankoa Molefe said in a statement on Tuesday.

The region was reacting to reports that the CP leader said in Parliament on Monday that any attempt to re-incorporate Bophuthatswana would be interpreted as a declaration of war against the CP as well.

It was "patently clear that the Boerestaat [Boer state] Hartzenberg and his followers have been speaking about is Bophuthatswana", he said. "Any attempt by Hartzenberg and his far-right grouping to block the re-incorporation of Bophuthatswana will be met with resolve."

Bophuthatswana workers, civil servants and defence force personnel had already declared themselves South African citizens and "nobody must try to suffocate their resolve".

Mr Molefe said Bophuthatswana was a powder keg which could explode anytime. The people of the homeland had been enslaved since 1977 and were now determined to free themselves.

#### Freedom Alliance Devises Plans 'To Wreck' New Government

MB2111104393 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in  
English 21 Nov 93 p 2-3

[Article by political correspondent David Breier]

[Text] Freedom Alliance [FA] strategists are devising a secret plan to wreck the new Government of National Unity to be elected on April 27.

FA sources say they plan to enter the election race at the last possible moment, beat the faltering Nats [National Party—NP] into second place and undermine the new Government from within.

The FA included the kwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei Governments as well as the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP], the Conservative Party [CP] and Afrikaner-Volksfront [National Front].

After exhausting the spoiling role, FA sources disclosed that the plan is to take advantage of Nat/ANC [African National Congress] deals made on the assumption that the NP would come second to the ANC in the April 27 elections.

The FA plan is that one of its leaders such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope, Constand Viljoen or Ferdi Hartzenberg will become a deputy president instead of F.W. de Klerk as ANC and Nat negotiators had assumed.

The interim constitution guarantees a deputy presidency for the party coming second whatever its support.

The third-placed party earns a deputy presidency only if it polls at least 20 percent—an unlikely prospect.

As the likely president, Nelson Mandela would be constitutionally obliged to consult the FA deputy president who would be in the ideal position to obtain Government strategy in advance so the FA can counter it.

The formula for a coalition Cabinet would mean FA Ministers being privy to government secrets.

FA strategists say their plan is to box clever and fight the Government of National Unity from within as well as extra-parliamentarily.

Human Sciences Research Council pollsters say the FA, consisting mainly of the IFP and CP, is now slightly ahead of the NP.

The FA is convinced that large numbers of undecided white voters confused by dramatic change would cast a protest vote for the FA, enabling it to beat the NP easily into second place leaving the Nats nowhere, as happened to the old United Party after it lost power in 1948.

NP support has fallen alarmingly over the past year from about 25 percent to 13 percent according to one recent poll.

In FA election campaign faces the problem of defection from IFP supporters who cannot stomach voting for white racists while some white rightwingers will not vote for blacks.



For this reason a separate ticket is possible with the FA parties pooling their support afterwards as is catered for in the interim constitution.

The FA plans to run on an anti-constitution anti-ANC platform.

The FA also believes the NP faces a breakaway of "federalists" members such as Minister Tertius Delpont and Danie Schutte which would further weaken the NP and increase FA support.

The FA plan is to retain its boycott stance until the last strategic moment to keep the country guessing and create a crisis atmosphere.

This would result in maximum impact when the election campaign is launched.

FA planners believe that parties tend to perform best in elections in the immediate aftermath of their launch and the full glare of publicity.

The planners cite the Democratic Party [DP] which was launched in 1989 and achieved by far the best "progressive" election result a few months later.

They also point out that the CP achieved its best by-election results shortly after it was formed in 1982.

The DP experience shows them that a new party with multiple leadership can do well in elections—the DP successfully fought the last white election under a leadership troika.

And, they add, there is a precedent for a party taking part in a system to destroy it from within—this was the reason the Labour Party gave for taking part in the tricameral Parliament. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the IFP would be absolutely disgraced if it stood for election in the same company as rightwingers such as the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg.

#### **Freedom Alliance Releases Document Containing Demands**

*MB2011053493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1958 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 19 SAPA—The Freedom Alliance has released a map of a possible Afrikaner Volkstaat [national state], centering around Pretoria with various sub-regions, as part of its proposed regional dispensation. This forms part of the Alliance's document containing its constitutional "bottom-lines", notably self-determination and a federal dispensation, presented to the government and made public on Friday. Adjusting regional boundaries to join the proposed Afrikaner sub-regions could be the way to form a future Volkstaat, the document suggested. Alternatively, the final approval of the boundaries of a volkstaat could be delayed until January next year and only the principle of a volkstaat be

approved at this stage, the document said. "The volkstaat need not be one undivided part but should at least consist of one undivided core with Pretoria as nodal point or link." The principle guiding the demarcation of the volkstaat should be the inclusion of the majority of the Afrikaners who so wished.

Observers said the map seemed to be based on group ethnicity, would pose difficult negotiations and did not take economic realities into account.

In the document the alliance also proposed a list of exclusive powers for regions as opposed to the interim constitution providing only for concurrent powers for regions.

The present self-imposed time frames of the multiparty negotiation process left little space for further negotiating initiatives and a solution had to be found "in the next few days" to avoid a national disaster.

The alliance had fundamental objections to many chapters of the draft constitution agreed to at multiparty negotiations and was submitting this document "to show that an all-inclusive solution can still be found, if there is a willingness to walk the extra and final mile".

Stressing self-determination as paramount and that the Alliance could only accept a dispensation which established a federalism, the document appeared to offer little new on its initial demands. Any constitutional dispensation denying the conditions for self-determination would be opposed and rejected, it said.

The Alliance was seeking reconciliation before it was too late and was willing to participate in the country's transformation, including the holding of elections, provided the process was shaped and guaranteed by an acceptable constitutional dispensation, the document said. "The members of the Freedom Alliance are not willing to abdicate their freedom... Nor will they allow the subjugation of their constituencies to new forms of authoritarianism and totalitarianism."

#### **Democratic Party Criticizes Deal on Local Government**

*MB1911164493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1306 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] Cape Town Nov 19 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] would vigorously oppose the "undemocratic" deal struck by the local government negotiating forum at Kempton Park this week, DP spokesman on local government Jasper Walsh said on Friday. He said the forum was an unrepresentative body from which political parties such as the DP had been excluded.

The agreement entrenched wards drawn up on racial lines during the interim period and made no allowance for mixed wards agreed to by local consensus. It imposed deadlines for appointing councils early next year with no allowance for consulting local communities, he said. "Most importantly, it prescribes racial representation

which in itself is unacceptable, but which furthermore takes no account of regional and community differences. For instance, blacks in a small rural town comprising 10 per cent of the population will have 30 per cent of the seats." Where whites were in the minority, the reverse would apply, which was no doubt why conservative whites had supported the deal which smacked of expedience and over-hasty agreement.

#### **DP Wants 'Most Democratic Constitution Possible'**

*MB2211173393 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1600 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] The leader of the Democratic Party [DP], Dr. Zach de Beer, says his party is thankful that the transitional constitution is not a final product. He said in Parliament that the constitution had important shortcomings, and that the DP would campaign for the most democratic constitution possible.

#### **ANC, AVF Form Joint Working Group After Discussions**

*MB1911171593 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1600 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] and the Afrikaner Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front—AVF] have decided to establish a joint working group. This follows two days of discussions between the two groups outside Pretoria.

General Constand Viljoen led the AVF delegation, and the ANC deputation was headed by Mr. Thabo Mbeki. A joint statement did not specify the issues discussed, but observers said they believed the AVF's demand for a volkstaat [national state] and self-determination for whites had been the main issue. The statement said proposals made during the meeting would be referred to the principals of the ANC and AVF.

#### **AVF Responds to ANC, SACP Threats on Homelands, Right Wing**

*MB2211193593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1856  
GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 22 SAPA—The Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front—AVF] said on Monday it took exception to what it described as "war talk" by senior African National Congress [ANC] and South African Communist Party officials last week.

It said statements such as the one in which the ANC's legal chief Matthew Phosa warned that the "tanks will roll" if the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states refused to surrender their independence, were not conducive to finding a peaceful solution in South Africa. "If Bophuthatswana's unwillingness to surrender its independence is sufficient reason for Matthew Phosa wanting to bring in tanks to forcefully annex the country, we wonder whether in his view tanks should

roll into Transkei to stop it from serving as a base for people conducting terrorist raids into South Africa," the AVF said in a statement.

It also took exception to a statement by SACP National Chairman Joe Slovo who, the AVF claimed, had said the right would be "crushed".

#### **Labor Party To Compete on ANC Ticket in April Election**

*MB2311112593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1040  
GMT 23 Nov 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 23 SAPA—A joint statement from the African National Congress [ANC] and the Labour Party [LP] on Tuesday welcomed the LP to the "democratic movement" and confirmed it would compete on an ANC ticket in the April election.

Speaking to SAPA after senior members of the two parties met at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, ANC executive member Ebrahim Ebrahim said they had agreed that "maximum unity of our people" was essential to win the election. "We concluded that this phase of the struggle should be approached on the basis of conditions now existing and not those of the past," said Mr Ebrahim, confirming this referred to the LP's controversial participation in the tricameral Parliament.

It had also been agreed that the LP would not contest the scheduled April election independently but that their candidates would form part of the ANC list.

"The ANC accepts the LP as part of the democratic movement and acknowledges the contribution of the LP in the negotiation process."

The two parties would immediately begin considering ways of creating a closer relationship.

#### **Buthelezi Addresses Durban Audience 22 Nov**

*MB2211183293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1815  
GMT 22 Nov 93*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Durban Nov 22 SAPA—Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he will not lead the IFP into an election under the present draft constitution and has urged his supporters to fight a "fatally flawed constitution".

Addressing a packed mixed-race meeting in Durban City Hall on Monday night, Mr. Buthelezi said his party would nevertheless continue to prepare for elections in April next year because "there will be elections next year once we have reached true multiparty consensus on the way forward".

He stressed the IFP was opposed to a two-phase transition to democracy, adding that the Freedom Alliance would continue talking to the government "in the hope that sense will in the end prevail". "Our arguments to the

government will be that the only way we are going to achieve peace and stability is for South Africa's negotiators to draw up a final constitution before elections next year." "We have a fight to put up against a fatally flawed constitution," he said.

He said the IFP remained committed to a speedy, negotiated settlement and although he had repeatedly warned of the danger of the present "civil war" turning into a more devastating conflict, "you can be assured that the IFP will not be in the forefront of that". "We remain committed to peace and reconciliation in our country."

### Urges Referendum on Constitution

MB2211202893 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 2000 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the only way to ensure lasting peace in South Africa is to draw up a final constitution before the national election of 1994. Speaking at the launch of an IFP branch in Durban North, Dr. Buthelezi said the agreement between the government and the African National Congress (ANC) stipulating that a final constitution must be drawn up by a new government is not worth the paper it is written on. He said if the ANC wins the April election, it would draw up a constitution without consulting any other party. Dr. Buthelezi said negotiators must first agree on fundamental constitutional principles, after which a referendum must be held. He said only when this proposed constitution has been tested by a referendum can the country proceed to an election. He said the question of his future within the IFP and whether he should lead the party in an election under the present interim constitution would soon be determined by the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

### Newspaper Profiles Possible Leaders in New Government

MB2211145093 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Special Supplement) in English 22 Nov 93 p 6

[Report by Patti Waldmeir in "SOUTH AFRICA: A Financial Times Survey" supplement: "Power People in Waiting"]

[Text] After nearly four years in the news, everyone know Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, who are likely to remain the two most important men in SA politics.

Their relationship will change: Mandela is overwhelmingly likely to take over as president, while De Klerk will be relegated to the status of second deputy vice-president, behind another deputy from the ANC [African National Congress], who will act as de facto prime minister to Mandela.

But their strengths and weaknesses will remain the same, however their titles may change: to the outside world, they are largely a known quantity.

But the new government will be influenced by a host of politicians whom outsiders know either less well or not at all. Some have emerged from the trade union movement, some from the ranks of the ANC in exile, some from its guerrilla wing and others from the enlightened wing of the NP [National Party]. Others still come from Inkatha, or the corporate world.

Predicting who will be who in the new SA is inevitably an inexact science. Partly it will depend on the scramble, only now beginning, to reach the top of each party's electoral list.

But some individuals seem almost certain to rise to the top of the pile, whether electorally, or by exercising influence outside parliament. They are:

**Thabo Mbeki**, ANC national chairman, who could well fill the post of first deputy president under Mandela. (This post might naturally have gone to Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC secretary-general, but he insists he does not want it.) Mbeki, for many years head of the ANC's international affairs department, is urbane, moderate, articulate and the darling of the business community.

Son of the ANC's most famous elder statesman—radical Govan Mbeki, 83, who is now retired—Mbeki was born in 1942 and took an MA in economics at Sussex University. During nearly 30 years in exile, he developed the kind of middleclass tastes which reassure whites, and cheer the hearts of foreign investors: nattily dressed and puffing on the ubiquitous pipe, Mbeki speaks the language of the monied classes while mysteriously retaining grassroots support at the same time.

**Cyril Ramaphosa** is no less charming than Mbeki, and becoming a rapid convert to SA's unrivalled version of the "good life". Ramaphosa insists he will not enter parliament, but will stay to build the ANC for crucial, post-liberation elections in 1999. Ramaphosa had a solid popular base in the NUM [National Union of Mine Workers] which he left to become ANC secretary-general in 1991, but has spend almost all his time since locked in negotiations with government and other parties. His image has suffered as talks dragged on, and he risks being blamed for concessions made. But the truth is that this witty 41-year-old, a consummate negotiator, has outmanoeuvred government on many crucial issues, and delivered a deal which favours the ANC. His economic views lean towards the socialist—though he keeps them hidden—and he is likely to prove effective in building the ANC's constituency.

**Derek Keys**. Mandela can send no more powerful signal to foreign investors than to keep Keys on as finance minister in the new government. As NP finance minister, Keys, 62, has trodden carefully with the anti-apartheid opposition, bringing them along with him every step of the way to a new debt rescheduling deal, a joint pitch on foreign investment, and a commitment to fiscal discipline to the IMF. After 30 years as one of SA's top businessmen, Keys is a technocrat rather than a politician, and may well survive into the new era.



Likewise, so may his counterpart at the SA Reserve Bank **Chris Stals**, who has done much to tame inflation and restore international financial credibility.

**Roelf Meyer**, 46, chief government negotiator, hails from the ranks of the enlightened Nationalists. He and colleagues **Leon Wessels**, **Dawie de Villiers** and **Sam de Beer** see a bright multiracial future where whites will continue to exercise influence by virtue of their strength in the civil service, the economy and the security forces.

**Joe Slovo**, chairman of the SA Communist Party, has arguably done more to deliver a moderate constitutional deal than anyone apart from Mandela himself. Despite his socialist economic views, he is likely to be a force for pragmatism for some time to come.

**Jacob Zuma**, one of the few leading Zulus in the ANC, is almost guaranteed a top position. Sober and reasonable, he has handled delicate negotiations with Inkatha well.

**Tokyo Sexwale**, voted the sexiest man in Johannesburg in a recent poll, is a charismatic populist of far more radical views; he is likely to try to push ANC economic policies in a radical direction.

**Sam Shilowa**, recently elected general secretary of the largest union federation, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], will fight for union independence under the new government, and will not be shy to use his power if government forgets its commitment to the masses.

**Moses Mayekiso**, head of the SA National Civil Organisation, will also prove a radical focus.

Last and most difficult to assess, **Mangosuthu Buthelezi** leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, will play a principal role from within or without the new government. With his irritable and unpredictable personality, he is likely to prove difficult to manage, whether he accepts or reject the deal. Only time will tell which he will choose.

#### **Daily Sees Civil War 'Just Months Away'**

MB2211140293 Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English  
22 Nov 93 p 9

[Report by Alan Robinson of *THE STAR* Bureau: "Chilling S. African Civil War Scenario"]

[Text] London—An awful picture of the immediate future of post-apartheid South Africa [SA] was painted over four full pages of Britain's most influential Sunday paper, the *SUNDAY TIMES*, yesterday.

The paper deals with the possibility that the country could be just months away from a terrifying civil war which will see blood spilt on an unprecedented scale.

The newspaper's SA correspondent, Johannesburg-based **Richard Ellis**, tells of:

—Secret training camps where children as young as 13 are being fed on a diet of religion and war.

—The rising tide of hatred between Xhosas and Zulus.

—Angry, trained soldiers pledging their lives and their weapons to the cause of the Right.

—Utter contempt for President de Klerk.

—Out-of-control killers in the townships.

The survey is liberally illustrated with pictures of Xhosas and Zulus in battledress and clutching a variety of weapons, of Boer soldiers of 1899 and their "descendants" of today, also clutching their weapons of war.

There is a detailed map showing the likely "epicentres of white resistance" (northern Transvaal, the [Orange] Free State and the western Cape), the sight of a possible IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party]-ANC [African National Congress] war of secession in Natal and of another black-on-black conflict on the East Rand.

Further pictures show young white children, their faces twisted in hatred, on the march with the AWB's [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] neo-Nazi flag aloft and armed white women ready for war.

In an accompanying article, Citizen Force Captain **Willem Steenkamp** says that if civil war does break out, the likeliest time is next year or 1995.

He says the main protagonists are black, with whites in strong supporting roles. Conflict "will most likely take the form of an aggravated breakdown of social discipline on the Somalian rather than the Spanish civil war pattern", he says.

#### **Commonwealth, Dutch Officials End Visit**

MB2011201193 Johannesburg *SAPA* in English 1945  
GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 20 *SAPA*—Commonwealth Secretary General **Chief Emeka Anyaoku** left South Africa Saturday after attending the ceremonial passing of the transitional constitution. During **Chief Anyaoku's** three day visit he also held widespread talks with Freedom Alliance [FA] leaders to try and convince them to rejoin the multiparty process.

Speaking at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, **Chief Anyaoku** said he had had talks with President **F W de Klerk**, African National Congress leader **Nelson Mandela**, the Pan Africanist Congress leadership, Judge **Richard Goldstone**, Peace Secretariat Chairman **Dr Antonie Gildenhuys**, FA leader **Gen Constand Viljoen** and Inkatha Freedom Party president and FA leader **Mangosuthu Buthelezi**.

Pressed on his discussions with the FA leaders, **Chief Anyaoku** said: "The fact that I held discussions with all parties shows the Commonwealth's wish to get all involved in the process."

**Chief Anyaoku** confirmed earlier reports that the Commonwealth would be sending its largest team of election

observers yet to monitor South Africa's scheduled April election. It was expecting to expand its training programme for election marshalls and would probably be contributing technical expertise to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council.

Dutch Foreign Minister Dr P H Kooijmans, who also jetted out of South Africa on Saturday night, told the media he thought the Transitional Constitution had enough federal elements to it and that Mr Buthelezi, who he had met during his brief visit, should return to the multiparty process. "I hope he will see which side his bread is buttered, and not only his bread, but that of his people," said Dr Kooijmans.

#### South African Press Review for 22 November

MB2211132593

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

Government Surrenders Power to ANC—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 19 November states in its page 6 editorial that the country has seen "a White government prepared to negotiate itself out of existence and to hand the reins to the chief 'liberation' force. This must be unique in the world. Certainly we have not heard of any comparable surrender of power." "At present, then, it looks as if the NP [National Party] will have a hard battle to become a strong official opposition to the ANC [African National Congress]; the FA [Freedom Alliance], which is still trying to get ANC approval for an Afrikaner volkstaat [people's state], is not committed to fighting the election, but could do better than the NP if it does, and the DP [Democratic Party] has little chance of achieving any significant success. Looming over everything is the danger that the Freedom Alliance, or at least part of it, will take up arms to fight for self-determination and a volkstaat or regional autonomy. The Whites, therefore, have even greater reason to feel insecure and to wonder what the future holds for them."

#### THE STAR

Compromises on Local Government—A page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 22 November notes that "astounding compromises" to the democratic character of local government were passed by negotiators "with hardly the turning of a hair." "Negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre were prepared to give minorities (and their precise racial character would vary from area to area) a guaranteed minimum proportion of seats on town councils—30 percent. The idea was to win over the white Right, which was threatening all types of resistance to nonracial municipal councils." However, the "proof of the pudding will be in the eating."

#### BUSINESS DAY

New Constitution 'Far Better' Than Others—"To those who fret about the constitution's imperfections, and the undeniable difficulties ahead, the shortest answer is to consider what might have been," says a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 22 November. Political transformation was "inevitable," and the country was "spared the final battles of an economic and guerrilla war against apartheid which would have left a wasteland. We were spared a political collapse such as that which resulted in handovers in Angola and Mozambique to undemocratic revolutionaries with economic policies 50 years out of date." The country has a negotiated constitution "providing for entrenched individual freedoms and protected by an independent constitutional court. It has shortcomings, but it is a far better constitution than any of the other three this country has had since 1910."

#### CAPE TIMES

Criticism of Plan To Tighten Immigration Controls—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 18 November is "alarmed" at the ANC undertaking to "tighten immigration controls to curb outsiders with 'white skins' seeking a new home in this country." "The racist undertones of this proposal do not sit well with a party which professes a strict commitment to non-racialism. Surely the racially based influx control measures of the past cannot be reintroduced in another guise?"

#### Press Review for 23 Nov

MB2311140593

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

Concern Over Constitution Weaknesses—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 23 November in a page 20 editorial is "concerned" about "some of the weaknesses that are becoming apparent" in the new constitution. Referring to the single vote, THE STAR notes that a citizen is entitled to vote for a national and provincial legislature, "but with only one vote." Whichever party gets the national vote automatically receives the regional vote as well. This creates "an enforced centralisation where the idea was to diversify. It virtually eradicates smaller and regional parties, where the plan was to include them." The editorial warns that we should "not be surprised that flaws emerge—such speed of constitution-making was bound to have wobbles. Nor should we leap to despair when the weaknesses are exposed. The chassis is intact; but when missing nuts and bolts are found, the sensible action is to tighten them up."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Call for Financial Sanctions Against Dissident Homelands—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 23 November in a page 12 editorial believes Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei, and kwaZulu, "the three creatures of apartheid



whose administrations remain resistant to entering the new era," could prevent an election being held successfully. The African National Congress, ANC's, military option against these homelands "can probably not be ruled out if circumstances demand it. But it is drastic and seems unlikely to be necessary." BUSINESS DAY advocates wearing down dissident homelands "through a process of attrition, financial rather than military sanctions are the obvious course to follow."

#### SOWETAN

Dissension in Cabinet—"State President F. W. de Klerk yesterday tried to reassure the media that there was no dissension within his caucus but impressions that there is continue," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 23 November. "Only time will tell if worrying debates are not taking place within De Klerk's Cabinet and his caucus."

#### CAPE TIMES

DP 'Watchdog' Role—"The interim constitution is not without flaw yet it offers a workable structure for stable multiparty government for the next five years, if the political will exists to make it work," notes a page 8 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 19 November. "Happily, there is evidence that the leadership of the NP [National Party], the ANC and the DP [Democratic Party] are indeed committed to work together in the proposed multiparty government of national unity." "In achieving this happy outcome, the Democratic Party and its team at Kempton Park are to be congratulated in the warmest terms. If the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, the DP has been vigilant and effective indeed, averting a damaging crisis of confidence." CAPE TIMES asserts that the DP has "an indispensable task as a watchdog of liberal values in a situation where the big political battalions are tempted to do mutually convenient political deals at the expense of democracy."

#### \*CSIR: State Support, Mission Examined

94AF0017C Johannesburg LEADERSHIP SA in English No 12, 1993 pp 88, 90-92

[Article by Michael Cherry: "That Nineties Scientific Look; A Little Techno, a Little Noir"; first paragraph is LEADERSHIP SA introduction]

[Text] The CSIR's [Council for Scientific and Industrial Research] mission has changed radically since it was founded. Since its restructuring it has focused more narrowly on "technological research"—raising some questions about whether it deserves continued state support.

Five years ago, South Africa's Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) was restructured. While retaining its name, it changed its mission from conducting both pure and applied research, to performing research orientated specifically towards technology, and

its development. To this end, its 23 national research institutes were disbanded, and 11 new multi-disciplinary divisions were created.

"This change was conceptualised by the CSIR's board, but one of its chief architects was its then vice-president, a young materials physicist called Brian Clark. Just under three years ago he took over the reins himself, becoming the council's youngest ever president at the tender age of 42. Not everyone in South Africa's scientific community shared this new vision for the CSIR, but it is one which Clark defends as being far-sighted. Five years ago though, South Africa was controlled by the securocrats, and there was a lucrative, albeit an illusory, market in defence and other strategic industries. Both private and government sectors had money to spend.

The situation had already changed dramatically. Government spending on research and development (R&D) dropped from 0.82 percent of budget in 1988, to only 0.55 percent last year. Moreover, when a new government takes over after next year's election, it may well have different priorities, in terms of R&D, from the current one. How does Clark see the future role of his organisation?

The focus, he replies, will remain on technology, which he envisages as being in three major categories: technology to make SA [South Africa] industry more competitive in international markets; technology which will promote local developments; and technology to assist in decision-making (for example, environmental impact services). The aim of the CSIR, he says, is to be "deeply responsive" to the changing stakeholders in our society, and to the fact that we are no longer an island. He is also acutely aware of the fact that in the short and medium term, at least, financial resources to achieve these ends are likely to be scarce.

Well and good. But how has the organisation fared over the past five years? On the face of it, not at all badly. Between 1988 and 1993, the new CSIR had its parliamentary grant increased by only seven percent (from R[ands]192m to R205m), lagging well behind inflation. In two financial years, the parliamentary grant decreased even in nominal terms, and as a proportion of the CSIR's income, it has dropped from 55.5 to 46 percent. The balance comprises income derived from two categories: research contracts, and investments and royalties from patents. The former has risen from 35 to 46.5 percent (exceeding the parliamentary grant for the first time last year), while the latter has increased fivefold, from an admittedly-low base of 1.5 to 7.5 percent.

In order to assess the CSIR's potential, it is instructive to look more closely at the breakdown of its contract income over the same period. There are three domestic categories of clients for its service: the private sector, the civil public sector, and the defence industry. The fourth component, foreign income, has increased from only one percent annually between 1988 and 1992, to six percent last year. This is a consequence of the thaw in SA's

relations with the rest of the world, but particularly, in the CSIR's case, with other African countries, which are beginning to avail themselves of its locally-orientated expertise.

Private-sector income has risen from 12.5 to 39.5 percent, while the proportion of contract income derived from the government has dropped from 53 percent to 29.5 from the civil public sector; and, less significantly, from a third to a quarter in the case of the defence industry. Both these categories are expected to drop again this year, even in nominal terms. The question is whether the CSIR can continue to increase its income from the private and foreign sectors in the face of the most serious recessionary conditions yet.

This year the organisation received a 16 percent increase in its parliamentary grant from R205 to R239m: the largest (and the first increase in real terms) since its restructuring. This prompted speculation in the scientific community that the CSIR, anticipating a decline in defence contracts and only limited growth in the private sector, was being "baled out" by government.

Clark dismisses this as "nonsense." Twenty-one million of this, he says, was part of a special allocation earmarked by the State for additional employer contributions to the Associated Institutions Pension Fund [AIPF] (to which CSIR employees belong), of which several of the research councils received a share. But as the CSIR has 3,000 employees, far more than any other research council which contributes to the scheme, its pro-rata share of the allocation was the greatest. The remainder comprised an eight million (four percent) inflationary increase, and two "one-off" awards of R2m each, for the upgrading of a particular facility at the Satellite Application Centre [SAC], and for a special initiative in technology transfer to small and medium enterprises.

This initiative was started by the CSIR two years ago, and is in line with the recommendations of a review of South Africa's Science and Technology (S&T) system compiled for the ANC [African National Congress]. The review, despite reacting favourably to the general direction being pursued by the CSIR, criticised its overemphasis on the needs of big business. It was compiled by a mission which visited the country to conduct interviews for two weeks in November last year, sponsored by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada, and under the chairmanship of James Mullin, formerly of the OECD S&T policy division. The other members were Deanna Ashley of the Jamaican Ministry of Health, Thomas Odhiambo, Director of the International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology in Nairobi, Lydia Makhubu, Vice-chancellor of the University of Swaziland, and Geoffrey Oldham, former Director of the Science Policy Unit at Sussex University.

Clark says that the additional funds will be used to start to address this problem, which he describes as the organisation's biggest challenge. At present, the number

of CSIR contracts from small, medium and large companies is divided up on a 1:1:1 basis, but in terms of monetary value, the breakdown is 1:2:9.

The CSIR has its critics. One of these is Dr Anastassios Pouris, newly-appointed Director of S&T Policy at the Foundation for Research Development (FRD). Pouris authored a report presented to the Scientific Advisory Council (SAC), the committee which advises the cabinet on how to distribute the science budget, in October 1991. This report criticised the structure of research support in the country as "under-emphasising competitive and targeted research funding mechanisms."

Its major finding was that only eight percent of government-funded research spending is performed at universities. Forty-four percent was spent on the research councils' in-house activities, which is far more than in any Western country. The remaining 48 percent is spent on general university funding, and forms part of the subsidies paid to the universities by the State to fund academic salaries. This figure is roughly similar to that in most Western countries, but comparable figures for developing countries are not available.

The take-home message of the report was very clear: a redistribution of the science budget was required to allocate more funds to the agency divisions of the three councils—the FRD, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), and the Medical Research Council (MRC), which in turn distribute these funds, on the basis of merit and utility, to research programmes at universities, technikons and museums.

Predictably, this report was welcomed by the universities. "Academic research is generally more competitive, easier to target, and more flexible than research performed in-house by the councils," commented Dave Woods, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research) at the University of Cape Town. Clark disagreed: "Competition for funds takes place within a research council, but at a different level."

Last year the two largest councils, the ARC [Agricultural Research Council] and the CSIR, together received 62 percent of the science budget, and neither has an agency function. The Science Advisory Council chairman, former CSIR President Chris Garmers, predicted when the report was released that it would have repercussions this financial year. But these appear to have been confined to cutting the allocation to the Agricultural Research Council (ARC) by R14m, which, according to its President, Dr Alec Heyns, received no earmarked funds for its pension scheme (it does not belong to the AIPF).

No significant redistribution from in-house to agency funds took place this year, which prompted an even stronger reaction from the universities. "The cut of the science cake allocated to the universities remains dangerously inadequate by international standards," says Deputy vice-chancellor (Research) at the University of

the Witwatersrand, Friedel Sellschop. "I fail to understand why the lessons learned from economically successful countries cannot be appreciated and implemented," he adds.

Next year this issue is bound to resurface, as there are already indications that the science vote will be reduced in nominal terms. The SAC will have to advise the government on its re-allocation, yet the South African public will, by design, remain ignorant of its recommendations. This situation highlights a crucial problem with the SAC: unlike analogous councils in most Western countries, its recommendations to government are confidential. Consequently there can, in the words of the IDRC review, be no independent assessment of "the extent, quality, relevance or impact of its advice."

Some members of the scientific community hold the view that the CSIR is not much more than a giant consultancy, and as such has no real claim to a State subsidy at all. "It would probably be true to say that science as a thriving, innovative, intellectual enterprise within the CSIR is dead," says a recent article in the SA JOURNAL OF SCIENCE by Jennifer Thomson, former Director of the CSIR's laboratory for Molecular and Cell Biology, and Johan Lutjeharms, another former CSIR employee who now holds a chair at UCT [University of Cape Town]. More specifically, they claim that the number of publications produced by CSIR employees has declined in the past five years.

These views are countered by CSIR Vice-President Daan Toerien and others in the same issue of the journal, who argue that in the context of its new mission, it is far more relevant that the number of patent applications filed by the CSIR has trebled over the same period. "Of course the number of publications has gone down," adds Clark, "because our clients don't want us to publish." Consequently, contract reports (which Clark believes are more difficult to have accepted than journal articles), form a large proportion of the CSIR's "published" work.

The recent controversy over the SA Air Force rejecting the purchase of the SA-designed OVID aircraft, developed by Atlas in conjunction with the CSIR, in favour of the Swiss PILATUS model, has once again focused attention on the organisation's close links with the military. Does this mean that it will be tainted in the eyes of a new government? "Not at all," replies Clark, "at an

executive level we have a very good open relationship with the democratic movement.

"What is required," he adds, "is transparency and openness, not the secrecy of the past."

What about a further recent spate of retrenchments at the CSIR? (Five years ago the retrenchment of a number of senior staff accompanied the organisation's restructuring.) This, says Clark, arose as a consequence of shutting down certain support services (their woodwork, photographic, and painting workshops) and involved only 250 people. Moreover, he adds, it is evidence of a commitment to direct more of their resources into research.

What does the CSIR have going for it? Clark believes that it has an infrastructure unique in Africa, with the capacity to develop solutions peculiar to our environment, thus bridging the gap between first- and third-world technologies. What is not quite so certain is the future of its parliamentary grant. "The problem with the present science system," says Pouris, "is that the taxpayer doesn't know whether he is subsidising research for the private sector, basic research, strategic research, routine testing, or even, in some cases, just enabling councils to compete favourably with private consultancies."

The crux of the matter is that each government creates special conditions which enable the performance of technological R&D. In the case of the CSIR, the question is whether, in a country like South Africa, this is optimally achieved by investing funds from the fiscus in a research council, with the specific brief of building this capacity in mind. But there is an alternative view.

Chris Freeman, another former Director of the Science and Technology Policy Unit at Sussex University, feels that the problem is that there is very little R&D being undertaken by the private sector itself in this country. This is almost certainly related to the fact that there is no comprehensive incentive scheme by which R&D spending can be written off against tax. By comparison, varying fiscal incentives exist in the manufacturing economies with which South Africa needs to compete for export markets: in the USA, there exists a 20-percent tax concession for company spending on research and development, whereas in the UK, 100 percent of R&D expenditure can be written off in this manner, and in Australia the incentive has recently been raised to 150 percent. This may be a far more efficient way of promoting technological development, and the first step required to change the situation would be some imaginative legislation.



**Angola****Dos Santos Reiterates Demand for UNITA's Demilitarization***MB2211200593 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] The government will not give up its demand that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] be demilitarized. This was reiterated in Windhoek a few days ago by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] So, UNITA's demilitarization (?is something) that I believe is indispensable for it to fulfill its role as a political party and [words indistinct]. We will never give up this demand. (?Militarization) is contrary to the democratic game that UNITA agreed to in Bicesse. [end recording]

**Government, UNITA Discuss Cease-Fire Issues***MB2211200793 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] Government and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola delegations met in a plenary session in Lusaka today to discuss the cease-fire. The ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY reports that today's session dealt with cease-fire modalities, a theme that is scheduled to be discussed tomorrow as well. Over the next few days, the talks will deal with issues relating to the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 mandate, the formation of the FAA Angolan Armed Forces, and the restructuring of the National Police. Meanwhile, a TPA source said mechanisms should be created to discuss the various issues.

**UNITA Official Views U.S. Relations as 'Positive'***MB2011154993 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 20 Nov 93*

[Text] Jardo Muecalia, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA] ambassador in Washington, has said the United States is increasingly concerned over the situation in Angola, now that the Bill Clinton administration is well versed on the country. Muecalia said the current atmosphere is positive. With the U.S. Congress playing the role of a moderator, efforts are being made to find a fair and peaceful solution to the Angolan situation and to provide the Angolan people political freedom [words indistinct] democracy that does not exist in Angola. [passage indistinct]

**President Dos Santos Leaves for Namibia 19 Nov***MB2011102393 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos left Angola today for a working visit to Namibia.

The president of the Republic arrived at the 4 February International Airport at 1400 hours accompanied by his wife Ana Paula dos Santos. He stood at the tribune as the band played the national anthem. He inspected the presidential guard, and soon after was seen off by officials from the highest organs of the state and judiciary, as well as the prime minister and his government. After the presidential honors, President dos Santos was heading for the aircraft when the press approached him to enquire about the reasons for the trip.

[Begin recording] [Santos] My trip is within the framework regular contacts between the two countries at different levels. I have not met with President Sam Nujoma for a long time either. I will meet him to exchange ideas on a number of problems of common interest concerning border issues, relations in the economic field, and also, obviously, cooperation in the diplomatic field.

[Unidentified reporter] What can Namibia do to help Angola overcome the conflict?

[Santos] This is what I will discuss with President Sam Nujoma in Namibia. [end recording]

After the journalists' curiosity was satisfied, President dos Santos shook hands with Lazaro Dias, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, who will be acting president while Dos Santos is in Namibia.

**Dos Santos Returns***MB2011210893 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 20 Nov 93*

[Text] President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos returned to the country this afternoon from the Republic of Namibia. During his 24-hour visit to the neighboring Republic of Namibia, President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos carried out diplomatic activity and held private meetings with his Namibian counterpart, Sam Nujoma. The presidential plane landed at 4 February International Airport at about 1730. The president was received by the prime minister and members of the government.

In the Namibian capital, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos categorically rejected the establishment of a pre-visionary or transitional government proposed by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

[Begin Dos Santos recording] We had free, democratic, multiparty, and internationally supervised elections in Angola. On 17 October 1992, the special representative of the UN secretary general declared those elections valid, free, and fair. On the basis of those elections, institutions of sovereignty are being established in the country, including the Parliament, a legislative organ, in which UNITA has 70 seats. Within the spirit of reconciliation and national unity, the government formed by the party which won the elections offered posts to other political parties.

Apart from these legislative elections, we also had the first round of presidential elections. We have not yet carried out the second round because UNITA and Dr. Jonas Savimbi decided to resume war. This being the case, there is no need to form a transitional government in Angola. This would nullify the sovereign decision of the Angolan people. What is needed is to put an end to the armed conflict and create conditions for the holding of the second round of elections, thus fulfilling the Bicesse Accord, which was freely signed by UNITA and the Angolan Government during the First Republic. It is evident that the government delegation has instructions so that, within the spirit of reconciliation and national unity, it can study the possibilities of including in the government administration officials from other parties, including UNITA. As a matter of fact, a proposal in this direction was made by the prime minister of the Angolan Government. This does not mean, however, removing from the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] the right bestowed on it by the Angolan people to govern and carry out its electoral program, which was chosen by the Angolan people last September. We want to discuss Angolan issues seriously. We do not want solutions that are outside universally recognized principles, notably the principles of democracy. It is the people who choose their leaders. Their choice must not be overridden by the force of arms. Our delegation will work on that principle. [end recording]

As part of his official working visit to Namibia, the president of the Republic this morning held a meeting with the African diplomatic corps accredited in Windhoek. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos briefed the diplomats on the Angolan situation and stressed that diplomatic efforts do not mix well with armed parties.

Yesterday, the Angolan president had a working dinner with Namibian President Sam Nujoma. The two discussed political issues and issues connected with multi-lateral cooperation between the two countries, particularly in the fields of energy, fisheries, public works, economy, and security on the common border. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' visit to Namibia is part of regular consultations between the two countries at the highest level.

#### **UNITA Seizes Cuvango, Sends Forces to Southern Region**

*MB2211202093 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] continues its military operations. A communique issued by the Central Military Front says on 17 November Savimbi's men reoccupied the capital of Cuvango District. Meanwhile, 200 civilians, forced to live in the bush, have turned themselves over to the Quilengues authorities. The communique notes that renewed military operations on the Southern Military Front follows reinforcements sent from Bie and Huambo to retake lost positions.

#### **Opposition Party Official Commits Suicide**

*MB2111092293 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 21 Nov 93*

[Text] The Liberal Democratic Party, PLD, yesterday lost one of its most influential members at the National Assembly. Carlos Simeao Manolo ended his life by firing a Makarov into his forehead in his room at the [name indistinct] housing complex. The police have confirmed the suicide, but the motives have not yet been established. The death of Carlos Simeao Manolo is a great loss to Angolan political life. He was an active campaigner on behalf of his electorate.

#### **Mozambique**

#### **Dhlakama Postpones Meeting With Chissano Indefinitely**

*MB2311112293 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader, will no longer be holding his scheduled meeting with President Joaquim Chissano today to present Renamo's Draft Electoral Law proposals. Raul Domingos, head of the Renamo team to the Supervision and Control Commission, CSC, has said that the meeting has been postponed because Afonso Dhlakama's schedule is much too full at this stage but he added he expects the meeting to take place before 29 November, the day the Assembly of the Republic is due to convene to ratify the Draft Electoral Law. He also noted that Renamo's Draft Electoral Proposals have already been laid down.

It should be recalled that Afonso Dhlakama had said in an interview with the Voice of America that he would be presenting his organization's Draft Electoral Law proposals during his scheduled meeting with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano today. He also explained that Renamo's main problems now relate to the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat, as well as the provincial and district commissions.

#### **Dhlakama Says Lack of International Aid 'May Threaten Peace'**

*MB2211114493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, leader, has said that, by not providing financial support to Renamo, the international community is creating an extremely dangerous situation which may threaten peace and democracy in Mozambique.

Quoting the Voice of America, the NOTICIAS newspaper reports that Dhlakama has said he has not received any of the aid promised by the international community before and after the signing of the General Peace Accord. He reiterated Renamo's intention to start confining its forces as of 30 November, but he noted that

it is important for his movement to receive financial aid so it can build infrastructure that will guarantee its survival as a political party.

### **Renamo Needs Promised Funds**

*LD2211191793 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 1800 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Interview with Mozambique's Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama by correspondent Carlos Pacheco; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] The date has been set: Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] leader Afonso Dhlakama is to visit Portugal on 15 January.

Peace in Mozambique will be under threat if Renamo does not receive the money it was promised by the international community. Speaking in an interview to RDP, Afonso Dhlakama said that he might lose control of his soldiers because of a lack of funds. Renamo needs at least 15 million dollars to become a political party. Dhlakama, speaking to our correspondent, Carlos Pacheco, promised that he would not block the Mozambican peace process.

[Dhlakama] If Renamo is not turned into a political party, it will be difficult for it to fight the elections and it will also be difficult for Renamo to be in a position to, shall we say, be able to maintain the discipline of its political wing, and I myself may lose the control that until now I have managed to hold. Therefore, this might in fact jeopardize peace and democracy in this country.

[Pacheco] You say that if this money does not arrive your soldiers will feel betrayed and you may lose control. This sounds like Savimbi speaking, are you not afraid of being compared to the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader?

[Dhlakama] No, no. I will never be like Savimbi. Savimbi did not accept the election results. Now, Renamo is not rejecting the election results since they have not been held yet, right. For Renamo to be able to participate in fair elections in Mozambique, the international community should keep the promises it made when we were negotiating. [passage omitted]

### **Ajello: Aid Concerns 'Justifiable'**

*MB2311073793 Maputo MEDIAFAX in Portuguese 23 Nov 93 p 1*

[Article by Carlos Cardoso: "More Money for Renamo Only After Troops Have Been Confined"]

[Excerpts] (Maputo) UN Special Representative Aldo Ajello regards as justifiable Afonso Dhlakama's latest complaints about the international community's failure to deliver on its promises of financial assistance to the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo. However,

MEDIAFAX investigations suggest that there will be more money for Renamo once its troops have been confined. [passage omitted]

Italian Ambassador to Mozambique Manfredo di Camerana is of the opinion that promises of international financial assistance had helped Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama "convince the more radical wing of the movement by promising financial stability to all." In an interview he granted MEDIAFAX yesterday, Ambassador di Camerana said that "the most dynamic wing of Renamo agreed to peace because it believed it would be possible for the movement rapidly to become a political party with the support of the international community."

Another Western diplomatic source said that promises were made by both sides, foreign governments and Renamo. That source added that the confinement of Renamo troops is "an obvious prerequisite" for the international community to deposit more money in the UN "Trust Fund" [preceding two words in English] for Renamo—and in another fund for other political parties. In the words of that diplomatic source, troop confinement will be the "first concrete test" of Renamo's commitment to the peace process. [passage omitted]

### **Renamo Leader Wants More Police During Election Process**

*LD2311145093 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television in Portuguese 1200 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[Excerpts] Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], said the Mozambican peace process could be in jeopardy if the international community does not keep its promise of financial help for Renamo. Dhlakama also wants half of the blue berets to be replaced with a larger police contingent during the electoral campaign with a view to ensuring that everything runs smoothly. Afonso Dhlakama was interviewed by our correspondent in Maputo, Fernando Magalhaes, this morning: [video shows Dhlakama speaking to correspondent]

[Begin recording] [Magalhaes] There was some agitation in Maputo this morning: [UN mediator] Aldo Ajello had a long conversation with Dhlakama. Less than a week away from the start of the confinement of troops to designated areas, Dhlakama tells us that peace and democracy in Mozambique might be threatened if the international community does not keep its promise of financial support for Renamo.

[Dhlakama] Those promises have not been kept, and people are more concerned with disarming Renamo. No one is concerned with Renamo's survival. This could happen, that our military, our politicians feel betrayed. As you can see, the confinement and demobilization of our troops would in fact mean the end of Renamo, if the international community continues not to respond positively.



[Magalhaes] If this response does not materialize, could the confinement process be halted?

[Dhlakama] No, we will not stop confining our troops. The confinement will take place. We will comply. But I am only warning the international community of the dangers, of what might happen. To disarm Renamo and leave it in disarray or for me to lose control of our forces, be it political or military, would no doubt endanger peace. [end recording] [passage omitted]

**Government Reportedly Trying To Delay Troop Confinement**

*MB2311145493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[Text] Mateus Ngonyamo, Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] lieutenant general, said in Chimoio,

Manica Province, yesterday that he was concerned over alleged attempts by the government to persuade Renamo to postpone the confinement process, scheduled to begin on 30 November. Ngonyamo alleged that some senior government officials have been contacting Renamo elements at the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambique Defense Armed Forces to postpone the beginning of the confinement process. Ngonyamo also said that despite material difficulties faced by Renamo, it will still begin to confine its forces on 30 November.

Contacted by Radio Mozambique, Labor Minister Teodato Hunguana said that if Ngonyamo's statement is true, he must identify the government members who are allegedly trying to persuade Renamo to postpone the confinement process.

## Ghana

### Opposition Party Denounces New Nigerian Leadership

*AB2211155993 Paris AFP in English 1541 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] Accra, Nov 22 (AFP)—Ghana's main opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) has denounced the new Nigerian leadership under General Sanni Abacha and said the end to military rule there cannot be easily foreseen.

A press release, signed by the party's general secretary, Agyenim Boateng on Sunday, called on governments in the West African region to condemn the latest military intervention in Nigeria.

The statement said the future of freedom, democracy and rule of law in Africa was at stake and called for measures to ensure that the democratic process in Nigeria remained unhampered.

It urged Abacha and his colleagues in the new military junta to heed the call of history and leave the scene.

## Liberia

### Liberian People's Party, UPP Declare Electoral Alliance

*AB1911175593 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] The Liberian People's Party [LPP] and the United People's Party [UPP] have declared an electoral alliance between them in preparation for the forthcoming general and presidential elections. A joint release issued yesterday quoted Mr. Dusty Wolokollie, national chairman of the Liberian People's Party and Mr. Gabriel Bacchus Matthews, national chairman of the United People's Party as affirming that the decision to form an electoral alliance is (?preferred) by experiences spanning over two decades of struggle to democratize the Liberian society. They further said there is a need to strengthen political institutions (?so as) to preserve and place on a firm foundation the democratic gains made, so far, by the Liberian people.

At a meeting on Wednesday [17 November] at the headquarters of the United People's Party, the meeting emphasized that as our country is gradually moving from war to peace, it is very urgent that focus be placed on building institutions in a society free of arms and a society where leadership evolves through free and fair elections. To effect the decision for the two parties to work together for the forthcoming elections, the release says, executive committees of both parties have started a joint technical committee to be cochaired by their general secretaries, Mr. James Logan of the LPP and Mr. Alfonso Kawa of UPP. Other members of the committee are Mr. (Komina Wuitta), (Alarus Togba), Thomas Doe,

and Anthony Kesselly from the LPP and (Dican Kalor), or (Michael Jor), (Harrison Djadia), and Victor Nagbe from the UPP. A technical committee has the mandate to work out the modalities, terms, and conditions for the full realization of the electoral alliance and is expected to report to the joint executive committee at its second sitting at the national headquarters of the Liberia People's Party within 10 days.

## Mali

### Parliament Waives Member's Immunity

*AB1911180093 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 0700 GMT 19 Nov 93*

[Text] Ngolo Sanogo, legislator for the Malian Party for Development, has been deprived of his parliamentary immunity. In a plenary session yesterday, 68 legislators voted for and 34 against the waiving of his parliamentary immunity. There were four abstentions and two blank voting papers.

Legislator Ngolo Sanogo is accused of embezzling over 33 million CFA francs belonging to the CNDT [expansion unknown]. He rejected the accusation and asked for his management to be audited again.

## Niger

### Assembly Speaker Calls For National Consensus

*AB2211162093 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 0545 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] National Assembly Speaker Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye yesterday held a news conference in Niamey. He spoke about, among others, the crisis the Alliance of Forces of Change is going through, relations between Zamalafia and the National Movement of the Development Society, and the effects of the rebellion. Concerning the social situation in the country, the National Assembly speaker asserted that today, it is high time to involve all the people of Niger, both the government and the opposition. He also spoke about the need for a national consensus.

[Begin Djermakoye recording] This country needs increased nationalism in order to give it some chance and recondition it so that at least, there could be a resumption of activities. This can only be done with the participation of all the people of Niger. It is because of this that we are asking: Why is it that there are so many crises? There are crises almost every month. We have been asking ourselves why this is. It is simply because all the people of Niger have not been involved in the present state of the country. The people need to create conditions to arrive at a national consensus which will enable the people to agree that things are going badly in this country and that if we continue to behave like this—strikes are senseless—we cannot put the country back on its feet, whatever the regime which comes later. So, in



fact, it is a warning signal that we are giving today. What have we really gained after six or seven months since the government has come into office and what are the prospects? What we are saying is that it is better to draw the attention of everyone, right now, on the need for the people of Niger to abandon this policy—this campaign. Because—pay attention, you journalists—we are concentrating on making political campaigns campaigns instead of occupying ourselves with finding solutions to our political problems—instead of examining the problems of the rebellion, the social situation, and all the other kinds of tension.

People might misconstrue my comments as adding fuel to the fire, but honestly, I prefer drawing people's attention to the fact that (?we must) really pool our efforts—both the government and the opposition—to rebuild this country which is ailing. Then, in two years, we can play politics—everyone in his own way. For the time being, under the present circumstances, we think honestly that there is no other solution than creating the conditions (?for arriving at) national consensus. [end recording]

## Nigeria

### 'No Warnings' Issued in Abacha-Abiola Discussion

AB2211200093 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 22 Nov 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] General Abacha has now had his first meeting since seizing power with Chief Moshood Abiola, the man widely assumed to have won the aborted 12 June presidential election. The meeting took place at the Presidency in Lagos. Gen. Abacha has already banned all political activities and the two permitted political parties, Abiola's SDP [Social Democratic Party] and its rival NRC [National Republican Convention] have been scrapped.

On the line to Lagos, Raga Omar asked Jonathan (Zwingina) a senior aide to Chief Abiola who accompanied him to the meeting, what specific issues the two men had discussed.

[Begin recording] [(Zwingina)] The specifics would be.... [pauses] may be highlighted in any future discussions, but this was a preliminary review of events and a preview of what should be in the pipeline in order to achieve the quick restoration of democracy in Nigeria.

[Omar] Did Gen. Abacha urge Chief Abiola to support him in his efforts for Nigeria?

[(Zwingina)] I believe that everybody who wants to govern Nigeria will require the support of all leading Nigerians and obviously, that was touched upon as well.

[Omar] And did Chief Abiola say to Gen. Abacha that he welcomed his take over in Nigeria; that he thought it would be good for the country?

[(Zwingina)] You know very well that there is no way in which a democrat can welcome a military regime anywhere. But we do understand the circumstances that led to this one, which are circumstances that have to do with the inability of the political class to play the game by their rules, to accept defeat when they were defeated, and to allow the democratic order to prevail on the basis of 12 June [election]. So, we do understand that any leader who loves the country will like to see a speedy restoration of democracy and will also like to have a peaceful order, so that citizens are not harmed. But, obviously, everybody regrets what has happened and we are (?not about) to jubilate for a military government. But we do understand why it had to come.

[Omar] That sounds as though Chief Abiola feels that the game is over for the civilian political groups and for him in particular.

[(Zwingina)] No, every politician is of necessity an optimistic person and Chief Abiola is extremely optimistic. So, I do not think that anybody, least of all Chief Abiola, will be giving up on the political process. It is an ongoing process and we are very active and he is going to continue to play a very prominent role in the process.

[Omar] Did Gen. Abacha in any way warn Abiola not to press on with his campaign to get the 12 June election recognized? Did he tell him that that was effectively finished?

[(Zwingina)] No, to the best of my knowledge, there were no warnings on either side and that issue was not put in that way.

[Omar] Did Gen. Abacha indicate that he would like Chief Abiola to be involved in any administration of his in Nigeria?

[(Zwingina)] No, that would not...[pauses] I am not aware of such a discussion so, I cannot say of certain about that.

[Omar] From everything that you have said, Mr. (Zwingina), it sounds as though the options open for Chief Abiola to confront the military take-over, even he wanted to, are pretty nonexistent?

[(Zwingina)] Well, I would not put it that way but I must say that some discussions have commenced and I think politics is not necessarily a game of continuous confrontation. It also involves dialogue and discussion and that is what we are doing.

[Omar] So, do you think that Gen. Abacha is a man that Chief Abiola could do business with?

[(Zwingina)] I think that judgment can better be exercised by Chief Abiola himself.

[Omar] But what people will want to know, Mr. (Zwingina), is whether Chief Abiola is in a mood to strike a deal with Gen. Abacha.

[(Zwingina)] Chief Abiola is not about to enter into any deals at all. The only deal that we....[pauses] the politics of the Social Democracy are concerned with is the deal to restore the rights of Nigerians and the democratic tradition to our nation and that is the only deal which every politician, especially of the Social Democratic order, respects and I want to assure you that Chief Abiola is not about to strike any deal with anybody. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

### **General Clarifies Decree, Status of ING Appointments**

*AB2211214093 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Text] The Federal Government said today in Lagos that all appointments made by the defunct Interim National Government and former civilian governors remain valid until further notice. The statement by the director of defense information, Brigadier General Fred Chijuka, said directors general relieved of their positions in some states were to go back to their posts immediately. He said they were to be prepared to brief the administrators when they assume duty.

In the statement, Brig. Gen. Chijuka also made the clarification on the decree establishing the Provisional Ruling Council, PRC, saying that it should not be called Decree 1 as announced earlier, but that all other aspects of it remain valid. He said the numerical arrangement will be streamlined soon. In the meantime, the chief of defense staff, Lieutenant General Oladipo Diya, is expected to address military officers from across the country at Dodan Barracks tomorrow.

### **Military Spokesman Announces Plans for Provisional Council**

*AB2211185193 Paris AFP in English 1821 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[By Ade Obisesan]

[Text] Lagos, Nov 22 (AFP)—Nigeria's new military rulers announced plans for a governing council including just two civilians on Monday [22 November] after cutting a deal with union leaders that ended a crippling protest strike over fuel price hikes.

An official armed forces spokesman said that the interior and external affairs ministers will be the only civilians in the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) headed by General Sanni Abacha, who took power last week. Abacha on Monday also met the presumed winner of annulled presidential elections, Moslem tycoon Moshood Abiola, for more than an hour in Lagos, official radio reported.

The military leader met Supreme Court President Mohammed Bello, politicians, top army brass and

retired officers in consultations aimed at explaining the takeover last Thursday. Abacha was yet to meet the diplomatic corps as a whole.

Under the PRC, a Ministerial Council will be appointed to act as "the administrative arm of the new government," the military spokesman said, but gave no details. Reliable sources said this body would be 95 percent civilian.

Abiola, who was accompanied to the meeting with Abacha by a former Senator from his dissolved Social Democratic Party (SDP), has said virtually nothing about the takeover apart from telling a state-owned television station that "nothing happens without the consent of God."

A previous junta plunged Nigeria into chaos by annulling the election he was believed to have won on June 12, alleging irregularities.

Earlier Monday, Abacha scored his first success as Nigerians went back to work after a week-long general strike that had paralysed much of the country and cost millions to the economy. The resumed activity came after he reached agreement with the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) on Sunday to curb the fuel prices rises introduced by interim premier Ernest Shonekan, who resigned Thursday.

Lagos, Nigeria's economic hub with a population of six million, was back to normal with its usual traffic jams, worsened by heavy rainfall which flooded many roads.

The price of petrol at the pump was set at 3.25 naira (14 cents) a litre, against five naira. Diesel was set at three naira a litre, instead of 4.75 and paraffin at 2.75 naira a litre against 4.50.

Officials had said the initial hikes in the domestic price of Nigeria's main export earner, oil and petroleum products, had been imposed by foreign pressure over the country's 30 billion dollar debt and the need to curb corruption. Commentators said the most important thing which Abacha obtained from the unions was a tacit agreement to observe neutrality on the political front in the coming period.

NLC president Pascal Bafyau took pains to emphasise Sunday that the strike had not been politically motivated to bring about a change of government but was "solely for socio-economic reasons."

The unions, the country's chief mobilising force, called a general strike last August after the departure of former head of state General Ibrahim Babangida to oppose similar proposals for drastic fuel hikes. But that strike was also aimed at ousting the military and restoring democracy.

"Decree Number One" setting up the PRC and signed on Sunday was backdated to November 18, the day Abacha took power and confirmed him as head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces.

It restored parts of the 1979 constitution establishing a separate executive, legislature and judiciary, the radio said, without giving details. But Abacha dissolved the SDP, the rival National Republican Convention (NRC), and parliament.

In the past two days, elected civilian governors in Nigeria's 30 states have been replaced by commanders of army garrisons over the weekend, firming up the army's control on the instruments of state, the radio reported.

### **Traditional Rulers Pledge Support to New Administration**

*AB2211184793 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[Excerpt] The Niger State council of traditional rulers has pledged support and loyalty to the new military administration. The chairman of the council, Etsu Nukpe, Alhaji Umaru Sanda Ndayakpo, made the comment today in Minna at a meeting of the council and Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Ujakor who is overseeing the affairs of the state. Simon Ataro has the report.

[Begin recording] Alhaji Umaru Sanda Ndayakpo said this latest change of government is an act of God and should be accepted by all Nigerians in good faith. He prayed for the continued peace and stability of the country. Earlier in his speech, Lt. Col. Isaac Ujakor had told the Amirs that he called the meeting to seek their support for the new administration and to remind them of the circumstances which led to the military intervention. The acting state administrator maintained that the action for the military was born out of the necessity to save the country from imminent collapse and to arrest civilian leaders. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### **Commentary Stresses Need for Nigerians To Be Hopeful**

*AB2011101993 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 20 Nov 93*

[Station commentary by Sebastian Agban]

[Text] The takeover of the affairs of the country by the Provisional Ruling Council, PRC, marks the end of the Interim National Government, which was in office for 82 days. This is believed to be the shortest administration in the country since the attainment of independence. Since that time also, Nigeria has had six military regimes, starting with that of Late Major General Agunyi Ironsi. While some of the previous changes had been marked by the use of some force, the present takeover has been effected peacefully. Such a peaceful change has much credit of its own and this can be an indication of how the government intends to carry out its programs.

The tasks before the new administration, as enunciated by the head of state, General Sani Abacha, in his maiden broadcast are quite challenging both to the government and to the people of this country. As Gen. Abacha

himself put it, this administration is a child of necessity with a strong determination to restore peace and stability to the country. It has been stressed by many observers on many occasions in the past that peace and stability are crucial ingredients in efforts to achieve steady development and growth in a nation. They are also important to ensure the success of any measure toward the establishment of lasting democracy anywhere in the world. The maintenance of peace and stability is therefore a task for the government and people of this country. It is under such an atmosphere that Nigerians will look forward with hope to a better future.

The reappearance of the military in the political scene of this country may have rightly or wrongly given cause for apprehension by some people, especially those with the expectation of a quick return to democracy. But as Nigerians, we have no choice but to face the realities and dictates of our situation. The most important thing is the survival of our country and this is recognized by the new administration as being far above any other consideration. It follows then that Nigerians have to subordinate all considerations to the question of the survival of the nation, because there lies the hope for a better future for the country.

A critical and dispassionate look at the programs spelled out by the new administration reveals some causes for hope. For example, the proposed constitutional conference (?rebuilds) the hope that every Nigerian will be able to make meaningful contributions to the fashioning of a new constitutional structure for the country. In other words, those who have any misgivings about the preexisting constitutional arrangements can make the necessary inputs from which will emerge a better and more satisfying constitutional arrangement for the country. But the way, this program will be similar in many respects to the preindependence constitutional conferences.

All things considered, the future of this country reflects signs of hope for the citizenry in practical terms. And in philosophical terms, as there is brightness at the end of a tunnel, or a silver lining behind every cloud, Nigerians should look forward to the emergence of a better and brighter future.

### **Correction to Shonekan Address to State Governors on Budget**

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Shonekan Addresses State Governors on Budget Issues" published in the 18 November edition of the Sub-Saharan Africa Daily Report, on page 23:

Column one, paragraph two, penultimate sentence make read: ...capital spending, especially if it is directed at relevant...(changing "over the" to "if it is");

Column one, paragraph three, sentence one make read: ...to disclose the details of revenue accruing... (changing "denials" to "details");

Column one, from last sentence of graf three, make read:  
...in the future. [new graf]

[Abubakar] The head of...(supplying editorial notation);

Column two, paragraph one, last sentence make read:  
...ready for a further election now. [new graf]

[Journalist]... (changing "federal" to "further");

Column two, paragraph two, last sentence make read:  
...Are you ready? [new graf]

[Olumilua] We are not ready in Ondo State. You know,  
I... (changing "you" to "we" and attributing last sentence  
to Olumilua);

Column two, paragraph three, last sentence make read:  
...to vote any further election at this point. [new graf]

[Journalist] When you... (changing "federal" to "further"  
and clearing indistinct words);

Column two, paragraph eight, last sentence make read:  
...carry them along in the next...(deleting extraneous  
editorial note);

Column two, paragraph nine, from sentence one make  
read: ...do they do here. Because it is away, we do not...  
(clearing indistinct words).

## Sierra Leone

### Government Troops Recapture Six 'Strategic' Towns

AB2211100893 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 0700  
GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Six more strategic towns in the Pujehun district were last Friday [19 November] recaptured by government troops after a five-hour battle with rebels. Making the disclosure during a press briefing at the Military High Command in Bo, the operational coordinator, Lieutenant Colonel A.T. Samura, stated that Gbanahun, Gbawima, Sawi, Gbane, Gba, and Saama in the (?Galu-Maseri) chiefdom were successfully retaken. Fifty rebels were killed, with a 7-tonne Mercedes Benz truck belonging to the Bo-Pujehun Rural Development which was recovered, along with a quantity of AK-47 rifles and RPG bombs captured by troops of the 5th Battalion led by Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Kargbo. [sentence as heard]

At the Kailahun war front, 30 rebels believed to be bodyguards of RUF [Revolutionary United Front] leader Foday Sankoh have surrendered to government troops in Boidu. Lt. Col. Samura told SLENA that all the surrendered rebels have been granted amnesty.

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

29 Nov 1993



